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ABSTRACT

Project Citywork was a demonstration project to provide employment for disadvantaged youth, and at the same time to determine which kinds of programs tend to work, and which do not. The program included work experience in nonprofit agencies; on-the-job training in the private sector; supportive services including counseling and classroom training, and job development. Besides the six agencies involved in setting up and administering the program, 19 community agencies were involved in conducting the project for about 800 youth. The overall placement rate (in unsubsidized) employment was 41 percent. Analysis of program outcomes showed that in terms of participant characteristics, clients most likely to find employment were older, relatively less economically disadvantaged, non-black, high school graduates, reading at eighth grade level or higher, and testing in math skills at seventh grade or better. In terms of program components, those with high placement rates were likely to have had the following: two five-six-month rather than one eleven-twelve-month program cycle; a high staff-to-participant ratio; good staff morale and low turnover; a parent agency which provided access to work experience and an encouraging environment; provision of work experience in the nonprofit sector rather than in the private sector; a program that offered remedial education in combination with extensive classroom skills training; and a program that was oriented toward the realities of the current job market, especially skills training in the clerical field. (Each of the 16 programs are reviewed, outcomes and components noted, and program and overall recommendations are made.) (KC)

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PROJECT CITYWORK

AN EVALUATION OF A NEW YORK CITY EXPERIMENTAL YOUTH EMPLOYMENT TRAINING PROGRAM

Volume II

Prepared by

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Submitted by

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Funded by

New York City Department of Employment

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We are grateful to Sandy Horowitz, who served as an assistant during the first year of the study and participated in all aspects of the research, to Abe Jaffe,whose years of experience made him a most valuable consultant to the project,and to Estelle Cooper, for typing both the early drafts and the final manuscript with great skill and, more important, with unbelievable cheerfulness, despite the pressures to meet difficult deadlines.

Above all, however, our thanks go to the men and women, too numerous to mention by name, who conscientiously and tirelessly staffed the programs of Project Citywork. We appreciate the fact that they willingly gave of their time and completed the many forms which enabled us to conduct this research, and we apologize for the inconvenience that our continual requests may have caused. These devoted public servants merit the appreciation of all who are concerned with the overwhelming task of increasing the employability of disadvantaged youth.

We assume responsibility for the analysis of the data which were included in the original report submitted to VFI in fulfillment of our contract. We must note, however, that before submitting the report which follows to DOE, VFI made a number of editorial and stylistic alterations which they felt would make the report more useful to the audience to which it is directed.

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PREFACE

Project Citywork was designed, under the Youth Employment Demonstration and Projects Act of 1977, as an experimental program to test the effectiveness for increasing the employability of disadvantaged youth in New York City of varying combinations of:

- counseling,
- vocational skills training,
- work experience,
- on-the-job training.

Vocational Foundation, Inc., recommended an ongoing evaluation of the project and of its outcomes and was eventually charged with providing technical assistance to the project and also with overseeing the evaluation. The actual research - in order to assure objectivity - was subcontracted to the Graduate School of Business of Columbia University.

The evaluation report, written by the Columbia Researchers, was edited for publication by VFI.

The report begins with an Executive Summary of findings accompanied by relevant recommendations. Section II outlines the administrative framework of Project Citywork, and Section III presents a profile of the total client population. Section IV gives a brief description of the participating agencies and compares their clientele to the average Citywork client. Section V presents and analyzes project outcomes. The report ends with evaluations of the auxiliary agencies, including VFI.

The Appendices contain an analysis of the problems Project Citywork encountered, with special emphasis on how these difficulties affected the research design of the evaluation. Tables and other supportive materials are also included in the Appendix.

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

For the convenience of readers, we do not begin this report with descriptions of Project Citywork but go right into a summary of the most crucial finding. This executive summary will, in the interest of clarity and usefulness, list our findings, conclusions, and recommendations.

A. *PROGRAM OUTCOMES*

Placement Rates in Relation to Client Characteristics:

The overall placement rate (in unsubsidized) employment was 41 percent.

This rate varied from a low of no placements in one agency to a high of 87 percent in another. Only four or five agencies approached the 60 percent placement rate contractually required by the Board of Estimate.

Some participants were more easily placed than others. Those most likely to find employment were:

- older (20 or 21 years of age);
- relatively less economically disadvantaged;
- non-black;
- high school graduates;
- reading at 8th grade level or higher;
- testing in math skills at 7th grade or better.

Placement Rates in Relation to Program Components:

Placement rates for agencies varied with a number of institutional factors. Those with high placement rates were likely to have had the following program components:

- two 5-6 month rather than one 11-12 month program cycle;
- a high staff-to-participant ratio (one staff person to approximately 7-8 clients);

- good staff morale and low turnover;
- a parent agency which provided not only access to work experience or OJT slots, but also a supportive and encouraging environment;
- a program which provided work experience in the non-profit sector (even at the agency itself), rather than OJT in the private sector;
- a program which offered remedial education but only in combination with extensive classroom skills training;
- a program which was oriented toward the realities of the current job market, namely, the provision of skills training and work experience in the clerical field.

Placement Rates in Relation to Program Components and Client Characteristics in Conjunction:

Contrary to expectations, males in the program had an only slightly higher placement rate than females. The women, however, tended to enter with fewer handicaps and more likely to be enrolled in programs that featured components that promoted successful placement. Statistical analysis showed that it was these special advantages of female Citywork participants that compensated for the usual advantage males have in being placed. The statistical analysis confirmed that - but for very special circumstances - males are easier to place.

Black clients entered Citywork with many more educational and economic handicaps than non-blacks and had a lower placement rate, as a group. Still, in programs which provided optimal conditions, (as described above) the black placement rate actually came close to the Citywork average for non-blacks.

Recommendations Concerning Client Characteristics:

While we do not believe that YETP's should be racially segregated, despite the fact that programs which can meet the needs of black youth must engender optimal conditions, we do recommend that the principle of affirmative action be a component of the intermediate world of the YETP, as of the worlds of education and work. Thus it is necessary to ensure that black youth be placed in programs which first, will address their particular educational and other handicaps and second, will prepare them with a combination of vocational skills and work experience to compete equally in the world of work with other disadvantaged youth.

B. *CLIENT CHARACTERISTICS ("NEED")*

Clients' Educational Level:

Differences in the educational level and the reading and math skills of clients existed not only within, but between agencies.

> Most of the youth in Project Citywork were high school dropouts, reading, on the average, at least three or four years below their grade level.
>
> Some youth in the program were particularly handicapped, with reading and math abilities below fifth grade level.
>
> Some participants, however, had completed high school and had reading or math skills fairly commensurate with their grade level.

Some agencies dealt with a relatively less, some with a relatively more educationally handicapped clientele.
No single program can adequately address the educational or remedial needs of these varying client subgroups. Nor can uniform performance standards be expected from agencies with widely varying client populations.

Recommendations Concerning Educational Level

Proposals should be funded to serve specific client populations, depending upon educational level and skills. One set of programs would address the high school graduate with reading and math skills of at least eighth grade level; another set would be designed to meet the needs of the dropout *who is functionally literate*. The latter would, of course, be funded to incorporate a more intensive remedial component designed to permit clients to obtain the GED.

Youth with reading and math skills *below sixth grade level* cannot and should not participate in YETPs. Such youth should be served through specially funded education programs - in conjunction with the schools - designed to bring them to a level of *functional literacy*. At that point they could be transferred to a YETP.

Placement performance standards must be redesigned to conform realistically with the educational history and ability of clients to be recruited. Programs for high school graduates can realistically be expected to place one-half of their participants, while those for high school dropouts reading well below their grade level will probably be able, with difficulty, to place only one in three participants.

Clients' Personal Problems:

Many clients will enter programs like Citywork with severe emotional and behavioral handicaps or family problems. Some will be parents themselves, many will have criminal records, a number will be ex-addicts, some will be without housing, having been thrown out of their homes by parents or other relatives.

Recommendations on Counseling and Day Care:

No program can hope to train and place these young people without addressing their special needs, requirements, and handicaps. The pressure of a contractual obligation must not impinge upon an agency's ability to transfer young people with special psychological, medical or social handicaps to programs which are designed to address their particular problems. Unless this is done the problems interfere with clients' employability.

Technical assistance should be available to apprise project staff of the supportive services of agencies designed to meet varying emergency situations.

Day care facilities should be budgeted into proposals if it is expected that at least one in four young clients will themselves be parents.

Client Expectations:

Many clients held unrealistic notions concerning the amount of schooling needed for, and the kind of income to be expected from, the occupations they hoped to enter.

Recommendations on Vocational Counseling:

Counseling must be directed to all areas of vocational guidance including a realistic understanding of the requirements and rewards of different occupations.

Clients' Interests and Aptitudes:

Participants entered the program with varying interests and aptitudes, as measured by CAI and the Differential Aptitude Test. Many ended up, however, in work experience or OJT slots (or unsubsidized jobs) which were not compatible with these interests and aptitudes.

Recommendations on Job Development:

Work experience and/or OJT slots should be left open (rather than fixed prior to contract approval) so that job development, as far as is realistically possible, will mesh with clients' abilities, interests and aptitudes.

Clients' Ability at Self-Placement:

Some participants managed to find jobs on their own in the course of their association with Project Citywork.

Regardless of age, ability, or education, however, black clients were not likely to terminate as "self-placements," and when they did, the pay they received was much lower than that of non-blacks who found their own jobs.

Recommendations Concerning the Need for Agency Placements: Programs like Project Citywork are urgently needed not only to help black youth find employment but to ensure that they will enter the world of work with rewards commensurate with those received by their non-black counterparts.

C. *ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS*

Timing:

Inordinate delays occurred in translating initially-approved proposals into appropriate form for submission for final Board of Estimate approval. Project sponsors found themselves in a "never-never land" unable to hire staff, yet asked to submit vitae of proposed staff for prime sponsor approval before being funded. In many instances, a potential staff person took another position rather than gamble on waiting for official approval.

Recommendations on Timing:
Programs should be scheduled to start only after final approval of contracts and receipt of funds. One month should be budgeted for staffing, planning, staff development and DOE approval.

Paperwork:

Many project sponsors found it difficult to complete the various intake, termination, and monthly report forms required by the prime sponsor. As a result, much valuable information about client characteristics and program outcomes was lost. More important, however, errors in completing monthly financial reports resulted in delays in receipt of funds for staff salaries and participant stipends.

Recommendation on Paperwork:

During the month before clients are recruited classes should be conducted with the appropriate prime sponsor personnel in how to complete the necessary forms. Actual practice sessions, going over each form item by item, should be held.

Need For Technical Assistance:

Staff at all levels and in all components of Project Citywork were committed to helping increase the employability of disadvantaged youth. Low placement rates were not attributable to lack of devotion, committment or hard work, but rather to the particular constellation of client characteristics and programmatic factors at a given agency. Front page CETA scandals notwithstanding, we found no program which did not, in the face of many difficulties and problems, make an honest attempt to improve the future chances of its young clients.

The experience of project Citywork, however, clearly demonstrates that project staff cannot possibly be expected to be expert in all of the areas involved in increasing the employability of their disadvantaged, handicapped young clients. They need assistance in such areas as:

- special counseling techniques;
- supportive services;
- basic educational aids;
- test selection, administration and interpretation;
- how to deal with the court system;
- job development techniques.

Contract managers found themselves more than adequately busy handling the day-to-day administrative and fiscal questions which project sponsors raised. Nor were contract managers trained to deal with "technical assistance" matters. In fact, we feel that it is good policy to separate fiscal and administrative monitoring from technical assistance, as these two functions are not mutually compatible. The monitoring function tends to create an adversarial relationship with contractors; the assistance function, in contrast, gives rise to a more nurturant relationship.

Recommendations on Technical Assistance:
The prime sponsor should fund on a continuing basis an agency whose function will be to provide technical assistance to YETP's in New York City and to serve as a liaison between project sponsors and the prime sponsor. In order to ensure services when needed, once the prime sponsor has found an agency which has proved capable of providing such technical assistance, it should fund this agency on a three-year, rather than a year-to-year basis.

Project Isolation:

Project sponsors experienced a deep sense of isolation and continually expressed the need to meet with other YETP sponsors to discuss common problems, constraints, and needs, as well as to hear about techniques which other project sponsors had found effective.

Recommendations on Inter-Agency Communications:
The prime sponsor should see to it - preferably through a funded technical assistance unit - that regular meetings and workshops on subjects of common interest be held for project sponsor staff. In addition, the technical assistance unit should issue a regular (bi-monthly) newsletter which will discuss problems and techniques of common interest and concern.

Job Pool:

Frequently, a project sponsor was able to develop OJT or work experience slots (or an unsubsidized job) which it was not able to match to its own clients' abilities or aptitudes. Alternately, projects frequently needed other jobs than they had developed.

Recommendation on Job Pool:

A job bank should be established under the aegis of the technical assistance unit. The latter should be responsible for collecting and efficiently disseminating information about unfilled openings.

Changing CETA Regulations:

CETA regulations are constantly changing, and such changes caused confusion both within the prime sponsor agency and among project sponsors.

Recommendations for Provisions for Bureaucratic Changes:

One individual within the prime sponsor organization should be responsible, on a continuing basis, for receiving information about these changes, determining in consultation with the legal or other relevant departments the consequences of such changes, and finally informing all project sponsors in written form.

At the same time, all requirements should be explained to the technical assistance unit in detail so that the latter will be equipped to respond to project sponsors' questions.

External Changes That Affect the Project:

During the course of the Citywork Project, changes in minimum wage laws created confusion and concern about who would absorb the increased costs.

Recommendations for Budgeting for Changes:

Since such changes can be expected to continue to occur they should be planned for and built into project sponsors' proposed budgets.

Selection Process in Relation to Placement Goals:

In Project Citywork, a lottery system was stipulated as the main mechanism of client selection.

A lottery may have ensured that nepotism did not enter the selection process, but given a pre-set program structure, it was inconsistent with the program goals of:

- a 60 percent placement rate;
- placing youth in jobs which would represent the first step in a career.

Recommendations on Selection:

All programs should be designed and budgeted with a particular target group in mind (e.g. high school graduates; older participants; 16-17 year olds; dropouts with low, but not excessively low, reading and math skills). Then a lottery could be used to select those within the target group who would be enrolled.

This would require extensive technical assistance as well as flexibility and coordination so that the projects would be able to transfer applicants (before actual enrollment) to more appropriate programs.

The Need for Follow-Up:

We do not know how long participants who were placed remained in their jobs, nor how they felt about their employment.

We do not know whether and to what extent employers of Citywork "graduates" were satisfied with their young employees.

Nor do we know whether, in fact, those who were negatively terminated went on to find employment on their own.

Recommendation on Follow-Up:

We recommend that Citywork clients, or at least a proportion of them, be followed up in an attempt to find out whether the placements made and reported represented only token employment achieved for reporting purposes or whether placements met project goals. We also suggest that if no follow-up is to be made, the 30-day employment requirement to satisfy contractual obligations be dropped.

In this section we have presented a summary of findings and the evaluation component's recommendations based on these findings. In the next few pages, VFI's recommendations are presented; they are based on their experience in the field of youth employment and specifically in Project Citywork.

D. *VFI'S ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PROGRAM OPERATORS:*

1. Make sure proposals reflect client needs and current job market conditions; provide sufficient time before the starting date for approval.

2. Review agency goals to make sure they are realistic in view of the existing client population.

3. Include in your proposal components to accommodate the special needs of participants, e.g. day-care for parents, special counseling and social services for ex-addicts, ex-offenders, ex-prostitutes, etc.

   It is strongly advised that medical, dental and optical services be budgeted for.

4. Provisions should be made for remedial and/or job related education, "world of work" counseling, and referrals for auxiliary services.

5. The evaluation recommends that one month be budgeted for staffing, planning, and staff development. One month might not be sufficient for new programs, particularly where the acquisition of equipment or construction are involved.

6. Develop a Personnel Administration Policy that will include:
   - job descriptions and qualifications for staff;
   - sufficient time for staff recruitment and hiring;
   - personnel practices, including personnel evaluation, promotion and termination practices;
   - staff orientation and training, before the participants are recruited;
   - preparation of adequate staff offices assuring privacy for counseling.

7. Allow sufficient time for recruitment, assessment and selection of participants. Provide for replacements.

8. Determine client's expectations before selection. Agency goals and client expectations and capabilities should be realistically matched to achieve projected outcomes.

9. All efforts should be made to ensure approval of a proposed contract by the Board of Estimates well in advance of staffing and implementation.

10. The Citywork data clearly suggests that more male participants should be directed toward clerical training, since positive terminations in this field are the highest.

11. Short intensive vocational training (5-6 months) coupled with counseling and remedial education, will yield higher placement rates than prolonged training. Most participants enter employment and training programs in order to find a job.

12. Staff training and enrichment should be a continuous process. All efforts to retain staff should be made to maximize on previous learning and experience.

E. *VFI'S ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PRIME SPONSOR*

1. VFI recommends that the prime sponsor prepare a comprehensive Operations Manual to guide program operators in the following areas:

   - submitting proposals and the Project Operating Plan; this is to be followed by a training session sponsored by the prime sponsor;

   - project sponsor responsibilities, including definitions of all terms e.g. placement, termination, etc.;

- procedures involved in contract modifications; (Despite recent efforts to simplify these procedures, many project sponsors need either further procedural simplifications or a line-by-line guide with detailed explanations of all items. Further, by allowing program modification the prime sponsor will be able to maximize the effectiveness of the project-sponsoring agencies.)

- list of allowable and prohibited expenditures and activities;

- contract continuation and cancellation;

- fiscal procedures including:
  - -fiscal handbook,
  - -CAMFR and cash flow,
  - -unspent funds,
  - -equipment,
  - -attendance records,
  - -paychecks,
  - -allowable paid activities,
  - -deductions,
  - -pay procedure,
  - -travel, petty cash, fiscal records;

- personnel guidelines:
  - -qualifications,
  - -recruiting,
  - -holidays,
  - -grievances,
  - -fringe benefits, etc.;

- start-up, operating and termination procedures;

- complete descriptive breakdown of all program components e.g. Orientation, Counseling, W.E., OJT, etc.

2) It is further recommended that one person be designated to receive and disseminate any changes in and/or additions to regulations. In the technical assistance unit, the above person would also be responsible for fully explaining any program modifications to the unit in order to ensure broadest understanding of all changes. This designee should also see to it that changes in regulations not be made arbitrarily retroactive.

3) A position of Ombudsman within the prime sponsor might be created to assist programs in resolving problems beyond the authority or capacity of contract managers. This office should especially be empowered to react to delays in reimbursements to project sponsor or problems affecting implementation.

4) Allow for continuous staff training and enrichment. It has been VFI's observation that the services provided by the Office of Staff Development and Training have been underutilized.

5) Regardless of program components, the prime sponsor should establish and universally maintain differential termination criteria for clients with handicaps arising from their age, or their social or educational background. For example, we feel that a 75% positive termination rate is unrealistic for groups of 16-17 year old clients.

6) VFI supports the concept of multiple-year contracts to assure continuity and to provide special populations (ex-prostitutes, foster-care children) with sufficient time to overcome their handicaps. In some cases, where clients may not be job-ready, other positive terminations should be acceptable outcomes, e.g. return to school for 16-17 year old clients.

7) Project Citywork findings notwithstanding, we feel that the prime sponsor should seek to retain the experienced staff of projects to reduce non-productive time spent in staff recruitment, training and development.

8) A decided effort should be made by the prime sponsor to ensure Board of Estimate approval well before projects' starting dates.

9) An effort should be made to reduce the paperwork which takes away from program services. This may be accomplished by a consolidation of all forms and a more efficient use of computers.

10) It is VFI's observation that the clause of "20% above minimum wage" is detrimental to job placement. Many employers feel that their older and more experienced workers would have a legitimate argument for salary raises if young, inexperienced employees were receiving 20% above minimum wage. Also, some small businesses can not afford the higher starting wage.

II. PROJECT CITYWORK

During the winter of 1977-1978, the City of New York's Department of Employment, the prime sponsor under CETA, Title III-C-3, was charged with the responsibility of designing and implementing a demonstration Youth Employment Training Program which would focus on disadvantaged, unemployed, high school dropouts aged 16 to 21. Community-based organizations in all five boroughs of the city were invited to submit proposals for one-year projects to be operated through their respective agencies. Such projects were to provide structured, well-supervised work experience, on-the-job training, classroom training and counseling in accordance with an overall program model developed by DOE.

Approximately 200 agencies submitted proposals, and in the Spring 1978 nineteen* were selected to participate in what became known as Project Citywork. According to one DOE contract manager, the criteria for selection of project sponsors included:

- past experience of the agency;
- the economic and ethnic characteristics of the population to be served;
- overall budget and internal distribution of costs;
- qualifications and experience of proposed staff;
- anticipated plan of operation and program outcomes;
- geographic (political) considerations.

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*Nineteen agencies were approved by DOE for inclusion in this demonstration project; only sixteen are included for purposes of evaluation. One agency decided not to submit its application for Board of Estimate approval, which was required for each contract. Two other programs closed down well before any outcome data could be obtained.

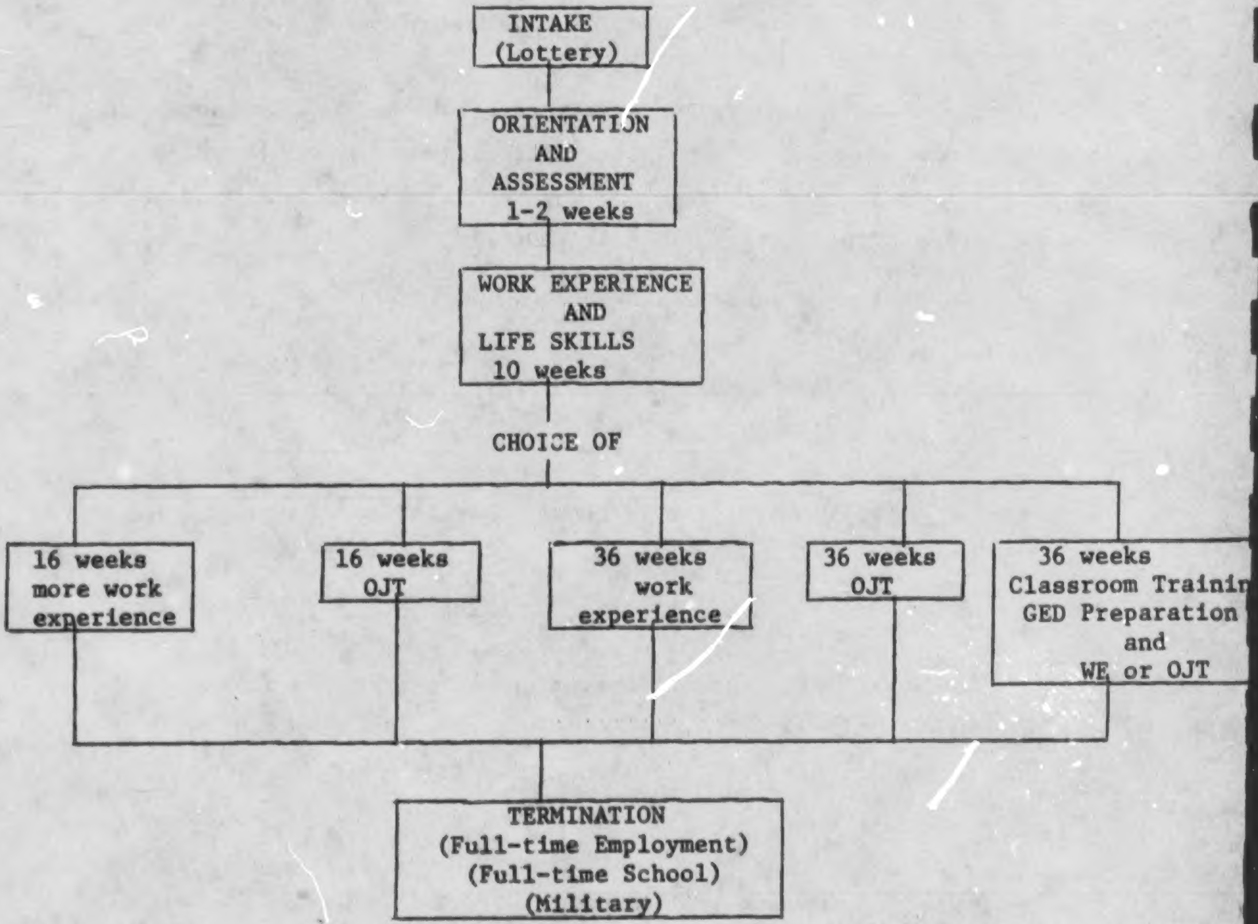
A. *THE PROGRAM MODEL*

From the beginning, Project Citywork was conceived as a demonstration project, an experimental attempt not only to provide employment for disadvantaged youth, but also to determine which kinds of programs tend to work, and which do not.

DOE developed a program model to be followed by project sponsors. While the local agencies were not rigidly bound to this model, it was expected that most would adhere to it.

CHART II-A

PROGRAM MODEL AS OUTLINED IN DOE REQUEST FOR PROPOSALS


INTAKE (Lottery)
ORIENTATION AND ASSESSMENT 1-2 weeks
WORK EXPERIENCE AND LIFE SKILLS 10 weeks
CHOICE OF
16 weeks more work experience
16 weeks OJT
36 weeks work experience
36 weeks OJT
36 weeks Classroom Trainin GED Preparation and WE or OJT
TERMINATION (Full-time Employment) (Full-time School) (Military)

The model incorporated:

- work experience in non-profit agencies;
- on-the-job training in the private sector;
- supportive services including counseling and classroom training;
- job development.

The programs at each of the 19 agencies were to be relatively uniform in character. They were to start simultaneously - June 1978 - and last approximately one year. Each was to include components such as:

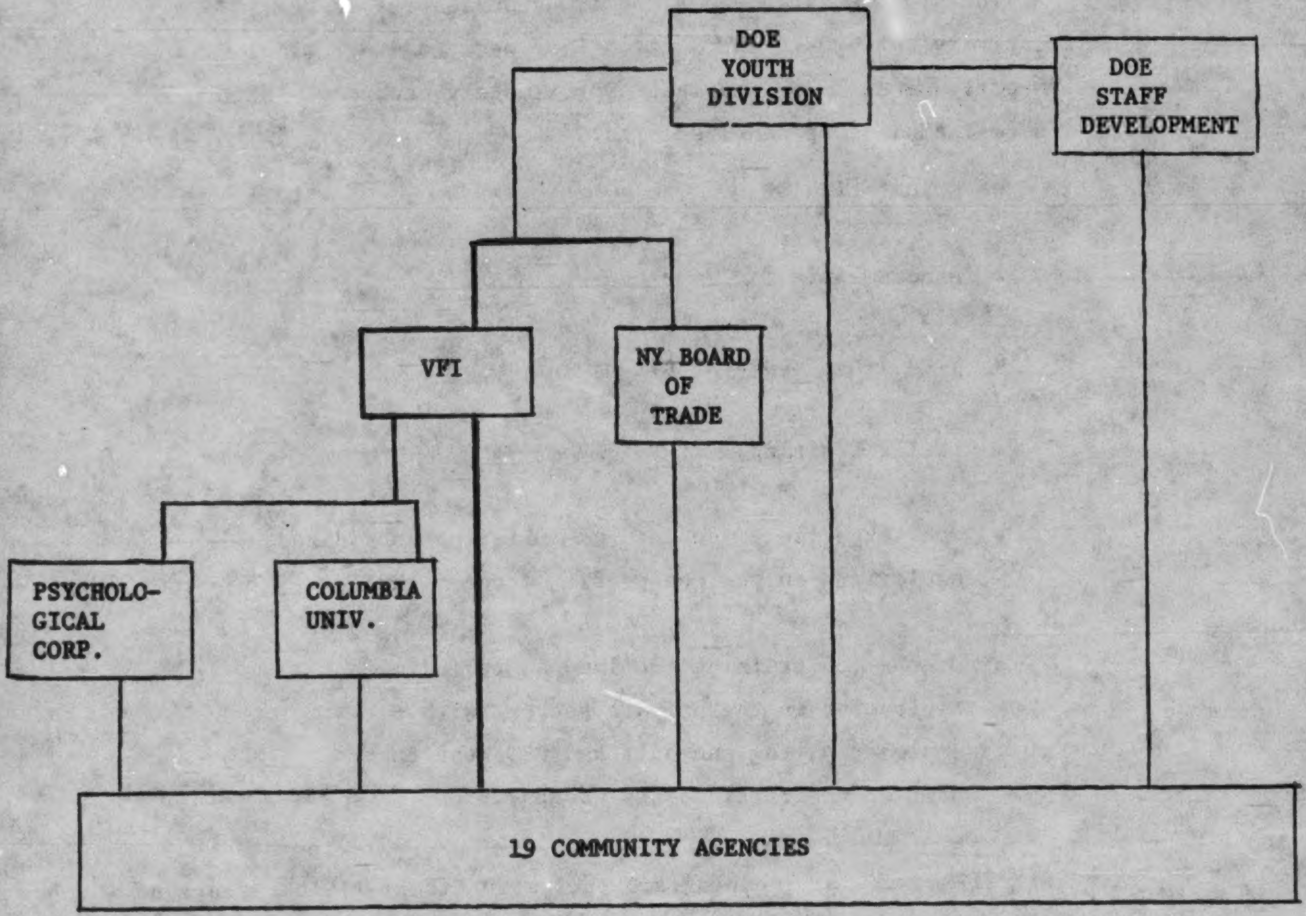
- orientation;
- assessment;
- vocational counseling;
- skills training;
- work experience (defined as full-time subsidized employment in the non-profit sector); and/or
- on-the-job training (defined as full-time employment in the private sector, with the employer paying one half and CETA the other half of the participants' wages).

Chart II-A diagrams the program model with its possible variations.

In addition to the nineteen agencies which would actually sponsor community-based programs, several auxilliary organizations were contracted by DOE (the prime sponsor) to enhance the capabilities of the local agencies.

CHART II-B

STRUCTURE OF PROJECT CITYWORK


DOE YOUTH DIVISION
DOE STAFF DEVELOPMENT
VFI
NY BOARD OF TRADE
PSYCHOLOGICAL CORP.
COLUMBIA UNIV.
19 COMMUNITY AGENCIES

1. Youth Division, DOE

It had overall responsibility for Project Citywork. Three contract managers were charged with the final screening of proposals, shepherding the Project Operating Plans through the Board of Estimate, screening staff appointments, and supervising the day-to-day operation of the projects.

2. Vocational Foundation, Inc. (VFI)

A private, non-profit organization, devoted over the last 40 years to employment for disadvantaged youth, VFI was charged with providing technical assistance to the project sponsors. This included:

- preparation of a detailed manual to guide local staffs;
- preparing, administering, scoring and interpreting assessment instruments;
- assisting in the orientation and counseling processes;
- collecting data for evaluation purposes;
- providing other supportive services and technical assistance as needed.

3. Columbia University, Graduate School of Business

A subcontractor to VFI, it was responsible for the evaluation of Project Citywork.

4. Psychological Corporation

A subcontractor of VFI, it had responsibility for training local staffs of approximately one-half of the agencies in administering and conducting the Adkins Life Skills Program.*

5. The Office of Staff Development (a unit of DOE)

It was charged with screening staff hirings and training agency staffs in counseling and job development techniques.

6. The Educational Foundation of the New York Board of Trade

This organization, with its many contacts in the private sector, was charged with developing OJT slots and/or permanent full-time jobs for Project Citywork participants in the community-based agencies. BOT was also to serve as a liaison and source of information to the project sponsors regarding job opportunities and requirements in the private sector.

7. Nineteen Community Agencies

The nineteen agencies themselves were responsible for the recruitment and selection of participants, and for the actual implementation of the program.

This then is a brief outline of the structure of Project Citywork. As mentioned earlier, the reader will find an evaluation report on each of the auxiliary agencies in Section VI of this report and a description of the community agencies in Section IV.

The evaluation design was affected heavily by changes and delays in the implementation of the overall Program Model. The discussion of the evaluation design having thus become very complex, it is allotted an Appendix of its own, Appendix B. There, the design and the history of the evaluation are reviewed in detail. It is a very important analysis in that it documents the practical results of administrative acts, and sheds light on the inter-relations between research and administration.

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* Boys Harbor, Chinatown Planning Council, Corona/East Elmhurst Community Corporation, East Harlem Youth Employment Service, Magnolia Tree Earth Center, Police Athletic League, The South Bronx Overall Economic Development Corp., Theatre for the Forgotten.

We shall now turn to a description of the client population recruited by Project Citywork.

III. THE CLIENT POPULATION

Several project sponsors, because of their past experience, proposed to recruit specific target populations - ex-offenders, ex-addicts, young "street" women, youthful parents. With DOE's approval, these agencies were restricted in their recruitment process only by CETA guidelines which define the standard of living, history of employment, etc. of applicants and which are prerequisites for eligibility.

Most agencies, however, recruited from the local pool of disadvantaged youth. These agencies were required to conduct a lottery by which approximately fifty participants would be selected purely by chance - thus preventing any charges of nepotism in the selection process.*

The profile we present of Citywork clients is drawn from data collected on three forms:

- the official DOE Intake form containing a demographic description of participants;

- a supplementary intake form designed by the evaluators providing data on participant's:
  - expectations of the program,
  - attitudes toward work,
  - general life values,
  - educational and occupational goals;

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*The lottery system in use in the majority of agencies set the stage for the classical "before-after experimental-control" design of the evaluation. Appendix B describes the original design of the evaluation and then discusses how this design was altered in light of the fact that Project Citywork on paper differed substantially from Project Citywork in operation.

- an assessment profile containing clients' scores on
  - the California Reading and Math tests (Level IV),
  - the Career Assessment Inventory,[1]
  - the Work Values Inventory.[2]

This description is selective, highlighting characteristics of participants which might be expected to impinge upon program outcomes.

Citywork participants were drawn from every borough of New York City, and for the most part the youths were recruited by agencies within their own boroughs. This local recruitment as well as the fact that most agencies could not accept all eligible applicants is evidence that the need for programs such as Citywork exists in all parts of New York City and exceeds current undertakings.

One further point should be made concerning recruiting: the prime sponsor wanted to ensure that most geographic areas and ethnic constituencies would be represented in Project Citywork. That most agencies did recruit locally helped to fulfill this objective.

TABLE III-A. *DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS*

AGENCY	(N)*	% MALE	% 20 OR OLDER	% BLACK	% HISPANIC
All Participants	(807)	42	33	74	32
Boys Harbor	(53)	55	38	81	29
Chinatown	(54)	4	63	2	4
Convent Ave.	(48)	54	48	83	17
Corona	(65)	57	35	91	19
East Harlem	(70)	36	42	64	56
Educ'l Alliance	(52)	0	10	75	21
Edwin Gould	(50)	54	10	80	23
Magnolia Tree	(38)	47	40	95	11
PAL	(54)	56	24	83	21
Phoenix House	(27)	52	22	92	12
South Bronx	(37)	22	17	73	37
South Jamaica	(50)	26	34	96	56
Staten Island	(48)	58	33	81	22
Theatre Forgotten	(57)	59	42	90	28
Western Queens	(50)	48	18	75	90
WIDE	(54)	50	41	57	63

In contrast to most youth training programs, the ratio of males to females was rather low in Project Citywork. Perhaps because of the nature of the work experience offered by many agencies (largely clerical) 58 percent of the clients were women, 42 percent men.

One third of Citywork participants were twenty years old, or older. Almost one-half of Citywork participants (47 percent) were 18 or 19 years old, and one in five was only 16 or 17. On the whole, the women in Citywork were older than the men, while blacks on the average tended to be slightly younger than non-blacks.

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* In this and all subsequent tables, the numbers in parentheses represent the totals upon which the percentages are based.

Did the program reach all ethnic groups with large numbers of disadvantaged youth? It would appear so. Three out of four clients were black, one in eight was white, and the other one in eight was "other" - Oriental or American Indian. One in three clients was Hispanic.[3]

TABLE III-B. FAMILY AND INCOME DATA[4]

AGENCY	(N)	% Living With Own Family	% With Own Child	% On Assistance	% Living 70% Below BLS Level
All Participants	(807)	63	26	54	65
Boys Harbor	(53)	79	15	54	60
Chinatown	(54)	93	2	8	37
Convent Ave.	(48)	7	30	40	46
Corona	(65)	57	36	65	77
East Harlem	(70)	52	40	61	87
Educ'l Alliance	(52)	55	26	73	73
Edwin Gould	(50)	4	13	50	4
Magnolia Tree	(38)	86	26	45	85
PAL	(54)	74	26	66	85
Phoenix House	(27)	22	16	65	78
South Bronx	(37)	64	65	48	31
South Jamaica	(50)	85	38	45	3
Staten Island	(48)	80	21	74	83
Theatre Forgotten	(57)	86	31	70	91
Western Queens	(50)	94	17	50	74
WIDE	(54)	84	8	55	82

Almost two out of three Project Citywork participants lived at home with their parents, one in twenty lived with a spouse, one in ten in a foster home or treatment center and the remainder alone or with a friend. Blacks were least and Hispanics most likely to live at home with their families.

Fully one-fourth of the Citywork participants had at least one child, and 4 percent reported two or more children. Two-thirds of these children were under two years of age; the remainder were three or four years old. These figures, of course, point out the urgent need for daycare and nursery school arrangements if young people are to be able to take advantage of programs such as Project Citywork. In fact, counselors reported that one out of three participants with a child experienced difficulty in completing the program and many had to be terminated.

The client population was economically disadvantaged. More than one-half were receiving some form of welfare, and two out of three participants reported family incomes which constituted less than 70 percent of the BLS Lower Living Standard for New York City.

TABLE III-C. PREVIOUS YOUTH PROGRAM PARTICIPATION AND OFFENDER STATUS

AGENCY	(N)	% EVER IN A YOUTH PROGRAM	% EVER CONVICTED OR INCARCERATED
All Participants	(807)	21	8
Boys Harbor	(53)	22	12
Chinatown	(54)	0	0
Convent Ave.	(48)	16	13
Corona	(65)	17	11
East Harlem	(70)	22	6
Educ'l Alliance	(52)	36	20
Edwin Gould	(50)	36	7
Magnolia Tree	(38)	16	5
PAL	(54)	17	2
Phoenix House	(27)	8	26
South Bronx	(37)	18	6
South Jamaica	(50)	26	5
Staten Island	(48)	35	2
Theatre Forgotten	(57)	33	5
Western Queens	(50)	21	0
WIDE	(54)	15	12

For 35 percent of clients, this was not the first experience in a youth training program. This figure is comparable to that reported for a national random sample of young people (Borus et al., 1979) in which the same proportion participated in more than one youth training program.

Fewer than one in ten participants had been convicted of a crime or incarcerated, although in two agencies, this was the case for more than one fifth. Males were three times more likely than females and blacks twice as likely as whites to have been convicted. Hispanics were three times less likely than non-Hispanics to report conviction or incarceration for a crime.

TABLE III-D. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT DATA

					% IN OR ABOVE		
AGENCY	(N)	% FINISHED HIGH SCHOOL	% READING[5] 8TH GRADE LEVEL OR BETTER	% MATH[5] ABILITY 7TH GRADE OR BETTER	30TH PERCENTILE IN DAT* REASONING	40TH PERCENTILE IN DAT* SPATIAL RELATIONS	50TH PERCENTILE IN DAT* CLERICAL SKILL
All Participants	(807)	24	32	35	15	19	23
Boys Harbor	(53)	40	53	49	19	23	9
Chinatown	(54)	65	24	83	26	32	48
Convent Ave.	(48)	6	31	23	4	6	56
Corona	(65)	2	32	37	0	2	8
East Harlem	(70)	13	17	23	10	19	17
Educ'l Alliance	(52)	8	10	6	10	12	23
Edwin Gould	(50)	12	26	18	18	22	14
Magnolia Tree	(38)	37	40	34	24	13	8
PAL	(54)	41	37	37	9	7	20
Phoenix House	(27)	11	26	33	7	22	7
South Bronx	(37)	17	50	46	20	37	35
South Jamaica	(50)	36	38	44	26	22	10
Staten Island	(48)	27	29	27	4	13	13
Theatre Forgotten	(57)	32	28	25	12	16	0
Western Queens	(50)	12	52	46	16	30	26
WIDE	(54)	33	39	37	32	39	59

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* Differential Aptitude Tests.

That Project Citywork was able to reach out to educationally disadvantaged youth is evidenced by the high school dropout rate of 76 percent. On the whole, the women and older participants in the program were considerably more likely to have finished high school.

Consonant with the high dropout rates were the average reading and math scores for the population. The mean reading level was seventh grade, while math was slightly lower, at sixth grade.

The scores on the Differential Aptitude Test[6] are discussed in the context of each agency's population.

TABLE III-E. EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS

AGENCY	(N)	% EXPECT TO FINISH COLLEGE	% WITH JOB EXPECTATION THAT REQUIRE COLLEGE
All Participants	(807)	47	43
Boys Harbor	(53)	68	51
Chinatown	(54)	48	24
Convent Ave.	(48)	49	54
Corona	(65)	44	32
East Harlem	(70)	35	24
Educ'l Alliance	(52)	43	42
Edwin Gould	(50)	40	53
Magnolia Tree	(38)	47	50
PAL	(54)	42	53
Phoenix House	(27)	46	53
South Bronx	(37)	46	55
South Jamaica	(50)	51	24
Staten Island	(48)	47	31
Theatre Forgotten	(57)	55	53
Western Queens	(50)	49	44
WIDE	(54)	48	40

The relentless need for money is apparent in the fact that when clients were asked whether they would prefer to return to school, rather than to take a job, three out of four said they preferred to work - citing economic pressures as the reason. Those who said they would rather go back to school were more future-oriented, saying that more schooling was necessary to fulfill their occupational aspirations. It should be noted, however, that almost 60 percent believed that a person who worked hard could reach a high position without going to college - a finding which counselors might want to take into account when apprising clients of the relationship between educational and occupational attainment.

While only 12 percent of the client population had actually been enrolled in college preparatory programs when they were in high school, in the long run almost one-half hoped to finish college and a small proportion (17 percent) aspired to post-college attendance. These educational aspirations, for the group as a whole, are not unrealistic in light of the occupational aspirations they reported. One in four hoped to enter one of the professions or semi-professions and another 15 percent opted for business or accounting. Interesting, only one in eight aspired to one of the "glamour" occupations, such as modeling, acting, or being a pilot.

Educational aspirations, however, were not always realistic for sub-groups within the program. For example, one out of five participants aspired to go no further than high school although they opted for careers which would require at least four years of college. Similarly, another 20 percent hoped to finish college, but looked forward to an occupation which called for only a high school education.[7]

Educational aspirations were also frequently incongruent with participants' abilities, as measured by CAT reading results. One quarter of participants, for example, who were reading below the sixth grade level, opted for careers which called for a college education. Young black males were strongly over-represented in this group. Another 16 percent read above the eighth grade level, but looked forward to jobs requiring only four years of high school or less.

TABLE III-F. PREVIOUS WORK EXPERIENCE

AGENCY	(N)	% EVER HELD FULL-TIME JOBS
All Participants	(807)	43
Boys Harbor	(53)	51
Chinatown	(54)	30
Convent Ave.	(48)	43
Corona	(65)	42
East Harlem	(70)	35
Educ'l Alliance	(52)	39
Edwin Gould	(50)	39
Magnolia Tree	(38)	54
PAL	(54)	40
Phoenix House	(27)	24
South Bronx	(37)	37
South Jamaica	(50)	42
Staten Island	(48)	36
Theatre Forgotten	(57)	65
Western Queens	(50)	56
WIDE	(54)	50

Fewer than one-half of the participants had had previous full-time work experience. Those who had worked before tended to be the older males in the program. It is also important to note that among those with previous experience, most had worked fewer than three months at salaries under $100 a week.

Not having had much contact with the work world explains the lack of realism in the occupational expectations of Citywork clients, which we have already reported. We also asked these young people how much money they expected to earn in their chosen field of work. Their responses indicate that they have no real information about the market value of given occupations. A would-be gynecologist, for example, expected to earn $250 a week, a lawyer, $125, a psychiatrist, $100, but a secretary, $400, a repairman, $500 and a musician, $1500.

These findings point strongly to the need for counseling directed toward setting young peoples' educational and occupational plans in a more realistic framework while, at the same time, trying through remedial education to raise their abilities to a level more congruent with their future expectations.

TABLE III-G. CLIENTS' ATTITUDES TO WORK AND LIFE

AGENCY	(N)	% WOULD WORK EVEN IF ENOUGH MONEY	% DISAGREE LUCK MORE IMPORTANT THAN HARD WORK TO GET AHEAD	% THINK HAPPIER IF ACCEPT CONDITION OF LIFE	% THINK GOOD BALANCES THE BAD IN LONG RUN	% THINK HARD WORK LEADS TO SUCCESS WITHOUT COLLEGE
All Participants	(807)	81	81	29	57	57
Boys Harbor	(53)	84	78	16	53	49
Chinatown	(54)	85	71	35	23	56
Convent Ave.	(48)	83	89	39	64	57
Corona	(65)	80	82	21	56	55
East Harlem	(70)	83	74	26	50	56
Educ'l Alliance	(52)	85	81	33	64	36
Edwin Gould	(50)	87	82	22	71	56
Magnolia Tree	(38)	75	82	42	53	49
PAL	(54)	74	65	43	52	68
Phoenix House	(27)	60	81	16	56	64
South Bronx	(37)	78	80	22	57	61
South Jamaica	(50)	86	75	24	68	48
Staten Island	(48)	84	78	40	71	62
Theatre Forgotten	(57)	87	89	37	50	65
Western Queens	(50)	75	81	31	65	48
WIDE	(54)	83	100	15	69	68

As a group, these young people were committed to the idea of work: the overwhelming majority (83 percent) said that they would continue to work even if they had enough money to live comfortably without it. Despite their disadvantaged backgrounds, clients did not emphasize the instrumental aspects of employment when asked what was important to them in a job: salary (37 percent) and security (27 percent) came in only second and third to "interesting work" (47 percent). In fact 42 percent cited security as the least important factor to look for in a job.

Some of the other attitudes of Citywork participants confirm the serious intentions and relatively high expectations with which they entered the program. While the cynic might have suggested that most youths were primarily interested in the stipend that accompanies participation in the program, according to the testimony of these young people this was not the case. Only one in fifteen even suggested that this was a factor, and almost none cited it as a prime consideration. On the contrary, the chief motivation for participation in the program was obtaining skills and gaining an idea of how to find and hold jobs compatible with their abilities and interests.

Fully two-fifths of the young people entered with the hope that in the course of the program they would be helped to "get their personal life together." That so high a proportion expressed this hope underscores the need for skilled, supportive counseling as a component of job training programs.

While the literature speaks of the lack of a sense of control over their lives among the disadvantaged, this did not seem to be the case among Citywork clients. Only 30 percent thought that people who accept their condition in life are happier than those who try to change things; four out of five denied that good luck is more important than hard work to succeed. The majority were optimistic, in that they felt that in the long run, the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good.

These then were the Citywork participants: disadvantaged, inexperienced, mostly unsuccessful in school and often unrealistic about the future. And yet, they were committed to the idea of work, optimistic, and hopeful that through Project Citywork they would obtain the skills and training necessary to enter the world of the employed. We will follow these young people through their respective programs to see the extent to which their hopes were realized.

IV. THE PARTICIPATING AGENCIES

Of the two hundred or so agencies that submitted proposals, DOE approved nineteen for participation in the Citywork demonstration project as program sponsors. Only sixteen are included in the evaluation, however, as one agency decided not to submit application for Board of Estimate approval at all, and two other programs closed down prematurely, well before any outcome data was collected. The agencies that were approved as project sponsors are listed in Chart IV-A, below, and described in some detail in the course of the present section.

CHART IV-A

The Project Sponsors

Sponsors	Borough
Boys Harbor, Inc.	Manhattan
Chinatown Planning Council	Manhattan
Convent Avenue Baptist Church	Manhattan
Corona/East Elmhurst Community Corporation	Queens
East Harlem Youth Employment Service	Manhattan
Educational Alliance	Manhattan
Edwin Gould Services for Children	Manhattan
Magnolia Tree Earth Center	Brooklyn
Manhattan Community Rehabilitation Center*	Manhattan
Melrose Community Rehabilitation Center*	Bronx
National Society of Hebrew Day Schools**	Manhattan
Police Athletic League	Manhattan
Phoenix House	Manhattan
Western Queens YETP (Qualicap)	Queens
The South Bronx Overall Development Corporation	Bronx
Staten Island YMCA, North Shore Extension	Staten Island
Theatre for the Forgotten	Brooklyn
Urban Renewal Committee of South Jamaica	Queens
Williamsburg Industrial Development Enterprises	Brooklyn

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*Program closed after several months.
**Proposal never submitted for final DOE or Board of Estimate approval.

A. *Boys Harbor*

Boys Harbor, Inc. started as a summer camp on Long Island and has evolved over a forty year period into a year-round youth organization. In 1966 the agency found a permanent home in a brownstone on Manhattan's East 94th Street. Currently, all administrative functions are carried out there, while youth programs - including Citywork - operate out of a recently acquired Children's Center on East 104th Street. The organization has gone from serving mainly as a recreational agency for young males to focusing on the educational needs of both sexes. It had never, however, administered a Youth Employment Training Program before.

Understaffing and lack of adequate space were the program's hallmarks, at least until almost half-way through the year. The staff consisted initially of two sorely overworked women. After several months, however, the Project Director assumed full-time responsibilities and a new job developer was hired to replace one of the women who left to have a baby.

For Project Citywork, the Boys Harbor program operated two cycles and served about 50 young people. There was no formal remedial education component; nor was there classroom training in job skills. Work experience, however, was offered in a number of areas - printing, auto repair, musical instrument repair, clerical work, and for cycle 1 clients, as caseworker and teacher aides.

All but two or three of the work experience sites were located at Boys Harbor. This resulted in participants having unlimited access to their counselors. Eventually the staff decided that clients were becoming overly dependent on and demanding of staff time and the decision was made to limit counseling to formally designated periods.

The Adkins Life Skills Program had been slotted for Boys Harbor but the delays in its authorization by DOE limited its use to Cycle 2 participants. Participants in the second cycle also benefitted from experience gained in the first cycle and received training that was more clerically oriented, as the staff had learned that young people with clerical skills were the least difficult to place.

Compared with the average Citywork client, Boys Harbor participants were more likely to be male, black, slightly older, and living at home with their families. A higher than average percentage had completed high school and had been enrolled in a college-preparatory program while in high school. A higher than average percentage also planned to finish college and enter a professional, semi-professional, or managerial occupation. Further, they were more likely than the average Citywork participant to have had previous full-time experience. Such a population might well be expected to experience less difficulty being placed on a job, following the work experience period.

B. *Chinatown Planning Council (CPC)*

Chinatown Planning Council is located on Elizabeth Street, fairly close to the center of Chinatown. It began in the early 1960's during the socio-economic renaissance of the struggling and dated New York Chinese community. The agency operates an adult education center with a college degree credit program, runs a senior citizen meal program, sponsors seven school-age day-care centers for nearly 700 youngsters, and maintains two programs assisting troubled youth. In a bustling second-floor office, one finds a constant stream of Chinese men and women trying to avail themselves of CPC services which also include translation, employment referral, supportive counseling, ombudsman work, housing assistance, and help with government entitlements, such as welfare and medicaid. It was there that many of the YETP participants earned their work experience.

While CPC had conducted educational and skills training programs for youth in the past, this was its first YETP experience. The top floor of a small three-story building was converted into a staff office and classroom for Project Citywork. In these cramped and crowded quarters, a director, a teacher, and a job developer provided classroom training in clerical, secretarial and other office skills to approximately 50 young women, 25 in each of two five-month cycles. Though the premises were far too small, the extreme devotion and sharp organizational skills of the staff helped to make for a smooth, even exemplary, program.

CPC's clients were Oriental women, older than the average Citywork participant and considerably more likely to be high school graduates with exceptionally high math skills. Almost all lived at home with their families and almost none were on public assistance. Their major liabilities were a lack of facility with the English language and lower-than-average reading scores. Many entered the program with specific hopes of improving their ability to speak, read and write English.

Despite the fact that most CPC participants were not only strong in math, but also scored well above the average on the Differential Aptitude Test* in all three areas (mechanical reasoning, spatial relations, and clerical skills), these young women were not "aiming high." Fewer than one-half hoped to finish college, and less than one in four looked forward to a career which called for a higher education.

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*For a brief explanation of this vocational placement tool, please refer to Note 6.

Only one in twenty aspired to a professional or semi-professional occupation. Most would be satisfied with clerical or secretarial jobs. Congruent with their low expectations were a set of attitudes which implied a rather passive, pessimistic resignation. More than the average Citywork client, these Oriental women tended to feel that luck is more important than hard work in achieving success, that a person is happier if she accepts her condition in life, and that in the long run, the bad is not balanced by the good.

The literature (Coleman, 1964) emphasizes the importance of a sense of motivation, optimism, and control over one's destiny as essential elements of educational success; at question is whether opposite attitudes will have a negative effect on program outcomes.

C. *Convent Avenue Baptist Church*

Convent Avenue Baptist Church served as the parent agency for the YETP project which was the last of the sixteen to go before the Board of Estimate. The program, in fact, did not officially start until April 1979 (just as several of the earlier programs were drawing to a close). Twenty-five first-cycle youths were recruited from the New York City Departments of Probation and Family Court Intake and the Harlem Juvenile Diversion Project. Housed in a one-time convalescent home on a tranquil tree-lined cul-de-sac in Harlem, the thrust of the Convent Avenue program was remedial education combined with personal and vocational counseling. No formal skills training was offered on the premises. The project director, who was exceptionally hard-working and devoted, was committed to broadening the life experiences of her disadvantaged clients, however, and through regular visits to the theatre, sports events, museums, and other such activities designed to create interest and motivation, she hoped she could lead them also to exploring the world of work.

The work of the project director was complicated by several factors. First, the program's sponsor (the Convent Avenue Baptist Church) took little interest in and provided few supportive services for the project. At the same time, when the project director felt it was necessary to make certain staff changes, her efforts were constrained by the parent agency. Second, while the staff worked hard, they were not successful in establishing the authority and discipline necessary for effective functioning. The counselor was quite young and unable to avoid over-identification with clients. The other two staff members were too immersed in the tasks of teaching and/or job developing to establish proper rapport with participants. As a result, staff relations within the program, as well as relations between the program and its parent agency, could be characterized as uneasy.

The typical Convent Avenue client - in contrast to the average Citywork participant - was an older, black male who had dropped out of high school. Because they were recruited from the Family Court system, Convent Avenue clients were likely to have a criminal record. They were less likely to have incomes constituting less than 70 percent of the BLS Lower Living Level for New York City, and a smaller than average proportion, accordingly, were on the welfare rolls.

While most Citywork participants were primarily hoping to acquire job skills (and jobs) through the program, Convent Avenue clients were more interested in improving their reading, writing, and math skills. Convent Avenue clients did have math scores well below the Citywork average. Surprisingly, this predominantly male group also scored much lower than the norm on the mechanical reasoning and spatial relations sections of the Differential Aptitude Test*, but considerably higher than the norm on the clerical skills section.

In contrast to the young women in the Chinatown program, this largely male population "aimed high." Well over one-half aspired to occupations calling for a college education. And unlike the Oriental women, Convent Avenue clients did not believe in the power of luck; nor were they prepared to accept life's conditions with resignation. Optimistically, they held that in the long run, the bad is generally balanced by the good. Whether their optimism was justified will be seen as we analyze program outcomes.

D. *Corona/East Elmhurst Community Corporation* (CEECC)

Corona/East Elmhurst Community Corporation is a product of the anti-poverty movement of the late 1960s. Located in a storefront on Northern Boulevard in Queens, it extends services largely to the people of the northeast shore of this borough, although some of its activities extend to the entire Queens area and a few of its recreational programs are citywide in scope. CEECC has administered a variety of programs directed to residents of all ages, but recently the emphasis has been on youth programs to help fight the 40 percent youth unemployment rate in the community.

The YETP staff, consisting of a project director, a counselor, a job developer, and three work-experience instructors, shared the storefront facility with Community Corporation personnel. Quarters were cramped and minor conflicts arose regularly over space allocation. The project director was on maternity leave during the first cycle and during her absence, the counselor and job developer vied for the responsibility of running the program.

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*For a brief explanation of this vocational placement tool, please refer to Note 6.

This did not make for smooth staff relations, although staff members appeared to have an easy confident relationship with participants.

We might note a problem which arose toward the end of Corona's second cycle. For reasons which we could not ascertain, participant and staff paychecks were considerably delayed. Finally, the project director had no alternative but to send participants home. Shortly after this dramatic move, the delayed paychecks came through, but by this time, it was difficult to re-assemble participants and to regenerate enthusiasm. As a result, the non-positive termination rate for second cycle participants was considerably higher than for clients in the first cycle.

Skills training in the Corona program took place primarily on program premises and covered carpentry, general maintenance, and clerical work. Those involved in carpentry were largely assigned to the task of renovating CEECC quarters.

About three out of four of Corona's seventy-odd clients were male and almost all were black. Compared with the average Citywork participant, Corona clients were more economically and educationally disadvantaged. Two-thirds were on welfare, more than three out of four lived at a level lower than 70 percent below the New York City minimum standard, and well over one-third had children of their own. Most of the participants were high school dropouts. Reading and math scores resembled those of the Citywork population as a whole, although in all three areas of the Differential Aptitude Test*, Corona clients scored lowest among the sixteen program populations.

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*Please see Note 5.

Attitudes and expectations of the group resembled those of Citywork clients as a whole - with one exception: Fewer Corona clients aspired to jobs or careers requiring a college education and more expected to earn only minimal salaries or wages once they gained employment. Perhaps this was the result of earlier experiences in the job market; although two in five had previously worked full-time, their work had been limited to low-paying unskilled jobs. Almost two-thirds of CEECC participants (including several young women) received training in carpentry or general maintenance in the course of the Citywork YETP program. Thus, it was possible that some would be placed in semi-skilled positions perhaps beyond their limited expectations.

E. *East Harlem Youth Employment Service* (EHYES)

East Harlem Youth Employment Services is located in Spanish Harlem, where it operates out of two storefront facilities a block apart. The agency has had considerable experience administering manpower and youth programs and, in fact, was hosting several such programs simultaneously with its operation of the Project Citywork YETP. It had been expected that the YETP program would benefit from strong supportive services through EHYES because other youth training programs were also maintained by the Agency. Actually, however, the sharing of facilities was a source of conflict, as the several programs competed for the use of limited equipment and space. The space itself, incidentally, was far from desirable. Rooms, created by movable sheet board walls, were largely unpainted. Heat was absent or inadequate in winter, and air-conditioning unavailable in summer.

The outstanding feature of this program was probably that staff - consisting of a counselor, a job developer, a teacher, and an administrative secretary- had serious problems establishing a working relationship with the project director. The latter, who was eventually removed from her post, was not only unable to delegate authority to staff, but constantly interfered with their activities and hindered their effectiveness with clients. It should also be noted that before the end of the YETP contract period, the parent agency closed down, and the YETP was not renewed.

East Harlem's program served over 70 participants in two cycles. On the premises, participants received remedial education in math and English, vocational counseling and individual guidance. No specific skills training component was included, but work experience slots were developed by the agency in several hospitals, nurseries and day-care centers. During the second cycle, the Adkins Life Skills Program was utilized for vocational counseling.

Two-thirds of East Harlem's clients were women and participants were somewhat older than the average Citywork client. This was one of four programs with a predominantly Hispanic clientele. East Harlem's participants were considerably more disadvantaged than the average Citywork client. Nine out of ten had incomes below 70 percent of the BLS lower living level; two out of five were parents themselves, a fact which interfered, in many instances with their successfully completing the program.

Educationally, too, the East Harlem population was well below the Citywork average. Their reading and math scores were among the lowest, almost one-half were reading below sixth grade level when they entered the program and almost the same proportion tested below fifth grade level in math. Ninety percent of East Harlem project clients were high school dropouts. A majority entered the program in the hope of improving their math and reading skills in the program's remedial component.

Only one-third of East Harlem's clients hoped eventually to finish college; just one in four aspired to a job requiring a college education. Two out of three anticipated low incomes in non-professional occupations. More than in any other agency, in East Harlem, participants looked for a job which would offer security. Compared with the average Citywork client, these young Hispanics were more likely to accept the importance of luck in getting ahead in life and to deny that in the long run the bad is balanced by the good. Fewer than average had had previous full-time work experience, and those who had were largely in unskilled jobs where the major source of satisfaction stemmed not from the work itself but from people met on the job. Incidentally, 22 percent had previously been enrolled in a youth program, and the majority of them did not rate the experience favorably.

F. *Educational Alliance*

Educational Alliance is an old, reputable agency with headquarters on Manhattan's Lower East Side. It has a long and distinguished history of servicing the community, a community which in the early days was largely comprised of Jewish immigrants but recently has seen an influx of other minority groups. From an emphasis on educational and recreational programs for immigrants and senior citizens, the Educational Alliance has turned toward working with runaways, ex-prostitutes and ex-addicts. It had never before administered a YETP, but did have some experience in the areas of personal and vocational counseling.

The Educational Alliance Citywork program was targeted toward a specific group, namely, ex-prostitutes. Educational Alliance had difficulty, however, in finding the 50 young women it proposed to serve; accordingly, enrollment was continuous, and the staff found itself working with progressively more difficult and needy cases. From the outset, Educational Alliance refused to play what the staff called "the numbers game," that is, working mainly towards achieving the 60 percent placement rate written into the contract.

The staff believed that their unique target group required a radical building up of their self-image and a revision of their personal attitudes and values before they could cope with vocational problems. Accordingly, the main thrust of Educational Alliance's program was counseling - individual, group and sexual - accompanied by remedial education. Only after a considerable time were vocational counseling and work experience at a few selected sites incorporated into the program, which consisted of one year-long cycle.

The difficulties which staff faced in serving their population were compounded by space problems. Without forewarning, the Citywork Project was moved from the Educational Alliance headquarters and placed in an old building which housed several other programs. The staff of Citywork managed to overcome the initial difficulties of obtaining the cooperation of personnel already in the building, but throughout the year, Citywork's office and counseling space was limited to one (not so large) room with paper-thin walls that provided neither the quiet nor the privacy required by a counseling program.

Despite its hectic atmosphere, a feeling of warmth and commitment pervaded Citywork's quarters. The staff, a project director, a counselor, a therapist, and a social worker, seemed to work well together and all maintained warm, friendly, informal but helpful relations with the 50 or so young women in their care.

The Educational Alliance participants were considerably younger than the average Citywork client. They were also more economically and educationally disadvantaged, and despite their youth, one-fifth had been convicted of a crime or incarcerated. Almost all were high school dropouts, with reading and math scores by far the lowest of all sixteen agencies. Three out of four, in fact, were reading below sixth grade level, and about the same proportion tested below fifth grade level in math. In light of these educational deficiencies, the clients had to be provided remedial education before the staff even could begin to consider vocational training or work experience.

Perhaps because of their history, many of these young women had previously been enrolled in youth programs though few had been pleased with the experience. Still, most had hopes, through Project Citywork, of "getting their life together", and it was precisely toward this end that the hard-working staff was devoting their efforts.

G. *Edwin Gould Services for Children*

Edwin Gould Services for Children, an old and respected agency, had devoted itself over the past 35 years to foster care and adoption services. A beautiful town house on an attractive tree-lined street in the Murray Hill area of Manhattan serves as agency headquarters, and from there, the project director and her assistant administered the Citywork YETP. The participants, however, together with a counselor, a job developer, and several part-time instructors spent their time in a drab, run-down school building in lower Manhattan, a building brightened only by paintings and decorations which they themselves had created.

Edwin Gould's was a program targeted specifically to foster children. Clients received remedial education, as well as skills training in carpentry, jewelry-making, and other crafts areas. According to the proposal, participants were to receive 10 weeks of skills training, after which they would be placed in on-the-job (OJT) training slots - primarily in small "mom-and-pop" crafts shops. Unfortunately, for reasons which will be discussed later, this sector of the job market proved very difficult to penetrate, and only a few of the 50 participants were placed according to schedule. The others awaited placement for some months in a frustrating unstructured environment, the long days of waiting often being filled only with talking and card playing.

The project staff was highly overburdened. Both the counselor and the job developer had multiple responsibilities, a condition for which they had not been prepared. Job development, in particular, proved to be most difficult and time-consuming. The problem was exacerbated by DOE policy: the agency could not obtain DOE approval to place participants in OJT slots which had not been contracted for according to the proposal; nor could they modify placement opportunities in time for participants to be hired.

Staff was also faced with the problem of establishing communications with the participants' foster parents, who often lacked understanding of or gave no support to program goals. Another problem stemming from the nature of this unique target group was related to counseling: it was difficult to teach participants about the importance of planning and saving because of their particular status, for were they to succeed and save money, they might exceed the income boundaries for foster care eligibility and thus might lose their stipend and their home. Accordingly, it was not easy to teach participants about the value of work as a source of income. In a word, this was a difficult group of young people to work with, particularly in light of the rigid guidelines and specifications of the YETP/CETA regulations.

Compared with the average Citywork client, the Edwin Gould population was considerably younger and more likely to be male and black. All were living with foster parents, but we have no information about the financial status of these foster parents, nor of the children themselves.* Ninety percent of them were high school dropouts, their reading and math skills were below average; only two out of five hoped to finish college someday.

Unfortunately, over one-third entered the program after having had a bad experience in another youth program. But despite this and their economic and educational handicaps, the Edwin Gould participants were a generally hopeful and non-passive group. They did not tend to believe that a person has to accept the conditions of his life or that in the long run, the bad is not balanced by the good. Two-thirds of the Edwin Gould participants came to Project Citywork with the hope that through the program they would be able to "get their life together."

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*Information on this subject was not completed by staff who filled out the official DOE Intake Form.

H. *Magnolia Tree Earth Center*

This is a relatively young agency. Incorporated in 1973, it has dedicated itself to protecting the environment in Brooklyn's run-down Bedford Stuyvesant area. Its storefront headquarters, which simultaneously housed another CETA program, were used chiefly for staff offices and some "emergency" skills training. The Citywork component also had access to another, rather comfortable, building where some of the counseling and all of the remedial classes took place.

The agency had had some experience working with young people, but this had largely been restricted to after-school activities, summer work-study programs, and training paraprofessionals for positions in the conservation field. Almost all of its activities, including those for senior citizens, focused on environmental protection, and it had proposed, for its Citywork program, to train participants for jobs in this area.

In the course of the program, it soon became clear that openings in the field of environmental protection were few, difficult to find, and unsuitable for their unskilled, untrained Citywork clients. Accordingly, after several months, the staff inaugurated a skills training program, largely in the clerical area, but with some training in carpentry and maintenance. Work experience sites were developed in schools, libraries, museums, and a few in the parks.

The staff consisted of only two under-paid and over-worked people, a project director/job developer and a counselor. The latter had had much practical experience working with youth in the community, but admittedly little formal training in counseling.

Magnolia Tree served about 40 clients over a one-year period. All but one or two were blacks, slightly older than the average Citywork participant. Most lived at home with their families, and while fewer than one-half were receiving public assistance, 85 percent reported having family incomes more than 70 percent below the BLS lower living standard.

Perhaps because they were older than the average Citywork client, Magnolia's participants were also more likely to have completed high school and to be reading well above the Citywork norm. About one-half aspired to occupations requiring a college education and, in fact, the same proportion hoped to finish college. Over one-half had previous full-time work experience, but as was the case for most Citywork participants, this experience was largely in unskilled, low-paying, very short-term jobs. Perhaps this is why Magnolia Tree's clients felt that what they most wanted from the program was skills training which would help them acquire a better job.

I. *Police Athletic League (PAL)*

PAL was founded in 1914. It is officially sponsored by New York City's Police Department, but was incorporated under the private sector in 1941. This agency works with 60,000 youngsters a year through three programs:

- youth centers in disadvantaged communities, which provide educational and recreational services;

- precinct programs in each of the city's 73 police precincts, which offer recreational and cultural activities;

- summer programs, which feature seven weeks of daily special events, generally concentrated in ghetto areas around the city.

The PAL office hosting the Citywork YETP occupied the spacious second floor of a two-story building on Broadway, just off 14th Street. The premises were hardly attractive, but the atmosphere was professional and efficient. Staff consisted of a part-time project director, three counselor/field supervisors (each responsible for a different skills training area), and auxiliary personnel, such as a social worker, a job developer, and social work aides. The program had two cycles and processed over 100 clients, altogether. Training took place in one of three areas: clerical skills, carpentry/maintenance, and recreation. Participants in the clerical group were trained in-house, with PAL secretarial and clerical personnel serving as instructors. Recreational trainees had access to PAL centers all over the city where they were trained to work with senior citizens, the handicapped or children. Vocational counseling made use of the Adkins Life Skills modules, but as in the case of the other agencies which had been scheduled to use the Adkins program, the equipment was not available until April 1979 - barely one month before the entire project was scheduled to end.

Well over one-half of PAL's participants were male. Compared with the Citywork average they were more likely to be younger, black, and living with their own families, on welfare or at a low income level. For this group, however, economic disadvantages did not go hand in hand with educational disadvantages: fully 40 percent were high school graduates and reading and math skills were slightly above the Citywork norm.

A job *per se*, or at least the acquisition of skills which would enable them to get a job, were the chief motivations for enrolling in the PAL program. Many, however, appeared to be less than realistic in their career expectations in today's job market. More than one out of five, for example, aspired to a glamorous career on the stage or in the arts. Well over one-half expected to enter an occupation requiring a college degree, even though only forty percent hoped to finish college and fully seventy percent felt that if one worked hard, success could be achieved without going to college at all. In line with their somewhat youthful and tenuous connection with hard reality, more than the clients of any other agency, PAL participants would rely on luck to achieve their goals.

J. *Phoenix House*

This agency has devoted itself over the past twelve years to providing drug-free therapeutic programs to youthful ex-addicts. With residential facilities in several parts of the city, its drug rehabilitation programs consist of intensive counseling and group therapy followed by educational and vocational training. We were told that, because of the nature of the agency's work, it has traditionally maintained a strong hierarchical and authority structure, combined with heavy reliance on peer pressure.

The Citywork YETP was located in one of the Phoenix House facilities, on West 74the Street in Manhattan. Here, in an attractive, partially remodelled brownstone, one full-time counselor/job developer, ran the YETP with the occasional assistance of a part-time project director. A major problem was that of finding clients who not only had been receiving drug rehabilitation therapy, but who were also eligible for the program under CETA/YETP guidelines. Since this target group was difficult to locate, new participants had to be enrolled continuously as they were found. In all, the eleven-month program processed only 27 participants, all of whom were ex-addicts, most in actual residence at Phoenix House.

Training and work experience were largely in the area of clerical and office skills, and worksites were generally located on the premises with regular Phoenix House staff serving as supervisors. Unfortunately, the Citywork program was not wholeheartedly endorsed by regular agency staff, and frequently the one full-time YETP person found it difficult to obtain the cooperation of the participants' work supervisors. This counselor/job developer also sorely felt his lack of experience in the area of job development, which he felt was hindering his successful task performance. He attempted to remedy his perceived handicap by devoting extra time to teaching participants to find jobs on their own.

Phoenix House clients were somewhat younger than the average Citywork participant and more likely to be male, black, and economically disadvantaged. More than one in four had been convicted of a crime and/or incarcerated. Most had dropped out of high school--one-third by the ninth grade. Reading and math scores, however, were only slightly below the Citywork norm. Although most were receiving skills training in the clerical area, the results of the Differential Aptitude Test* indicated extemely low aptitude for clerical skills on the part of Phoenix House clients.(Nor did the Career Assessment Inventory test results reveal strong interest in this area.)

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*Please refer to Note 6.

Fewer than one in four of the Phoenix House participants had any full-time work experience. This, combined with their youth, may be why they were considerably more likely than the average Citywork client to opt for a "glamor" occupation and to aspire to a job requiring more years of schooling than they actually expected to get.

Perhaps because of the group therapy and counseling they had received as ex-addicts, Phoenix House youth were least likely of all Citywork participants to believe that people are happier if they accept their given life conditions. Their commitment to work, however, was considerably below the Citywork average: 40 percent, as compared with only 19 percent for the overall Citywork population, would not continue working if they had enough money to live comfortably.

Compared with the other projects, Phoenix House had a small population, but probably it had the most economic, educational, and psychological handicaps to overcome. Further, it should be recalled that many clients had criminal records, a fact which could be an extra handicap in finding employment. The difficulty was compounded by the fact that a single (admittedly inexperienced) person was charged with the responsibility of readying these youths for and getting them into the job market.

K. *The South Bronx Overall Economic Development Corporation*

One of the later agencies to receive Board of Estimate approval*, SBOEDC is a well-regarded community agency devoted to the preservation and restoration of the declining area in which it is located. Its headquarters occupy a floor in a building on one of the busiest streets in the South Bronx, but a three-room facility was rented nearby for the YETP project. The staff was comprised of a project director, a job developer, and a teacher. Each staff member also acted as a counselor; they divided the almost 50 participants among them.

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*The delay was largely due to the difficulties encountered by the agency in getting its proposed staff approved by the prime sponsor.

The target population of the South Bronx program was the adolescent parent. These young people were recruited from a variety of programs which provide services for this group, such as group homes, the Department of Social Services, neigborhood centers. From the start, the staff established a close and warm relationship with this troubled group of clients. The agency's relatively late entrance into Project Citywork meant that they had the use of the Adkins Life Skills equipment for most of the span of their program, but they supplemented these modules with regular visits to corporations, banks, industrial firms, and non-profit or government agencies, in order to broaden the horizons of their youthful clients.

As far as we could determine, South Bronx was the only program which had not specifically contracted to place its clients in pre-determined occupational slots; accordingly, it was possible to try to match interests and skills of participants with placements. As a result, work experience or OJT slots (depending upon what staff could develop) varied widely. Most participants, however, were placed in non-profit organizations as clerical aides, hospital aides, or senior citizen nursing aides.

Almost all of South Bronx's clients were young women, somewhat younger that the Citywork average. The agency's request that day care facilities be budgeted for was not approved by the prime sponsor, despite the fact that most clients were parents. Although staff were occassionally able to help clients find babysitters, for the most part this problem was left up to the participants. Almost one-half of these young people were themselves family heads, but surprisingly, fewer than one-third reported incomes more than 70 percent below the BLS lower living level.

Although all but a few clients were high school dropouts, their reading and math scores were considerably above the Citywork average. Similarly, their aptitude scores in all three areas of the Differential Aptitude Test were higher than the Citywork norm.

Not only was this group brighter than average, it was apparently more highly motivated and future-oriented. South Bronx participants enrolled in Project Citywork to improve their reading and math skills and to try to find out what kind of job would be best for them. Less than for any other program population, was the job an end in itself. Most aspired to professional, semi-professional or business careers and expected that their income in these positions would not be inconsiderable. On the whole, however, despite their inexperience (only about one in three had previously held a full-time job) and despite the problems with which these youngsters entered the South Bronx program, they appeared to be a group with a high potential for developing the skills and knowledge to increase their employability.

L. *South Jamaica Urban Renewal Committee*

Urban Renewal Committe of South Jamaica was the sponsoring agency for a YETP which processed 50 young people over two cycles. The agency is located in a blighted, depressed ghetto area of Queens. In the general vicinity were several storefront churches and some residential areas, but - with the exception of a small auto plant - little or no industry.

The staff included a project director, a counselor, and job developer, as well as two teachers responsible for skills training, mostly typing. In a second phase of the program, the project director was able to initiate contacts with unions in the field of carpentry/maintenance and this helped substantially the process of training and placing participants. This project director, incidentally, was the only one to initiate such contacts; other project directors had presumed that union rules and restrictions would make it difficult to obtain their cooperation.

Perhaps the most severe problem faced by South Jamaica's program was with the board of directors of the host agency. This group exercised iron control over the project director, often with the result of preventing effective performance. Members of the board frequently overruled staff decisions, interfered with communication between DOE and the Project, and occasionally even succeeded in pitting one staff member against another. Unfortunately, one staff person was judged by the project director to be incompetent, and another had serious charges leveled against him by a participant. The board of directors was unwilling to take action in either case, and this proved demoralizing for the rest of the staff.

Three out of four of South Jamaica's participants were women. All but one or two were black and the majority were of Hispanic background. Most lived at home with their families, although almost twenty percent were parents themselves. Few, compared with the overall Citywork average, were on assistance and almost none reported family incomes 70 percent below the BLS lower living level.

Similarly, South Jamaica clients seemed to be less educationally deprived than the average Citywork client. Fewer than two-thirds were high school dropouts and the reading and math scores of this group were above the Citywork norm. Over one-half expected to finish college, but less than half of that proportion aspired to an occupation requiring that much schooling.

The South Jamaica participants were, on the whole, a pragmatic group: their chief purpose in enrolling in the program was to get a job. And again, more than in any other program, most important to them in a job, they said, were the economic rewards - the salary. This instrumental orientation was accompanied by a sense of confidence in the power of hard work (rather than luck) as a means of achieving success, as well as an unwillingness to accept the notion that happiness comes from accepting one's condition in life.

M. *The Staten Island YMCA (North Shore Extension)*

The Staten Island YMCA's YETP project processed 50 clients over the period of almost one year. Staten Island itself is a relatively isolated, conservative borough with a high unemployment rate and few job opportunities. The staff of the Y's Citywork component - a project director, a counselor, and a teacher - were most hopeful that participants would be successfully placed, for many of the Y's board of directors were local businessmen, who had seemed committed to supplying the program with the necessary on-the-job training slots.

The project was housed in a pleasant, spacious facility which it shared with a day-care program also sponsored by the Y. Participants went through a ten-week period of intensive vocational counseling combined with remedial education. This part of the program was held at Wagner College (on Staten Island), an environment which was highly appreciated by staff and participants alike.

The ten-week vocational and remedial segment was to have been followed by a long on-the-job training period. Unfortunately, the slots which the Y's directors had been expected to provide did not materialize, and the project director found himself faced with the dual task of administering the program and developing jobs. The latter task was most difficult. Despite the fine reputation of the hosting agency, conservative local establishments were not keen about hiring these young (minority) workers. Most participants, themselves local residents, were reluctant to travel to Manhattan, where employment opportunities were better. On the other hand, the Staten Island program, was almost the only one which managed to place a number of its participants through the Educational Foundation of the New York Board of Trade.

Three out of five of Staten Island's participants were males, and four out of five were black. Compared with the average Citywork client, they were considerably more likely to be living at home with their families and to be on the welfare rolls. One in four - about the same as the average Citywork participant - had completed high school, and reading and math scores also resembled the Citywork norm. Aptitudes, however, in all three categories tested were well below the Citywork average.

Perhaps because of their geographic isolation, the horizons of this group were relatively limited. Although almost one-half hoped to finish college, fewer than one-third aspired to a job which required a college education, fully three-fourths expected to earn under $160 a week in their chosen occupation, and less than one in ten hoped for a professional or semi-professional career. Thirty-six percent had held a full-time job before.

Overall, Staten Island participants seemed to be a relatively passive, weakly motivated group, unwilling to leave their familiar surroundings for possibly better occupational opportunities, generally believing that one should accept one's condition in life. Primarily they tended to seek security in a job, and were sure that eventually the bad will be balanced by the good. All of this added up to a client attitude which might well make them difficult to place.

N. *Theatre for the Forgotten*

Theatre for the Forgotten started out as a CETA-sponsored agency of artists and actors who presented dramatic performances for the "forgotten" people serving time in New York's prisons. Gradually their programs began to be directed toward teenagers in need of counseling; the agency's experience in the areas of vocational training and job development for youth was limited.

The program was housed on the Pratt Institute campus, in basement quarters without much space or privacy. However, the college was able to provide work experience slots for most participants in a variety of areas, including media work, clerical jobs, and maintenance.

The staff, which consisted of a project director, a job developer, and a counselor, worked well together under particularly difficult circumstances. A major crisis, for example, occurred shortly before Christmas, only a month or two after the program started. Because of a delay in processing a monthly report, participants' and staffs' paychecks were held up. Participants anticipating a holiday season with no money, staged a sit-in strike and the situation was saved only by the fact that the agency's executive director supplied funds to tide the program over until DOE finally forwarded the checks.*

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*It should be noted the DOE contract managers were extremely slow in responding to this emergency situation.

The program processed almost 60 clients in a single (eleven-month) cycle. Compared with the average Citywork participant, Theatre's clients were much more likely to be males, over 20 years of age, black, and economically disadvantaged. Almost one-third had completed high school, but reading and math scores were somewhat below the Citywork average. Two out of three (the highest proportion of any agency) had had previous full-time work experience; in fact, while most Citywork participants with such experience had worked only a month or so, the Theatre clients had generally worked three months or longer at full-time jobs.

They clearly were looking to improve their chances for a better job. The majority expected to finish college and aspired to careers requiring a college education. Far less than in any other agency were there discrepancies between the amount of schooling they expected to obtain and the amount required for their chosen field of work. As a group, they disavowed the power of luck as a route to success. On the contrary, they entered Citywork prepared to work hard at improving their reading and math abilities and polishing their work skills. Not surprisingly, given the orientation of Theatre for the Forgotten, a large number of participants hoped for jobs in the mass media.

O. *Western Queens YETP*

"Qualicap" was the name of the agency which served as the original project sponsor for this YETP component of Project Citywork. Shortly after its approval by the Board of Estimate in late 1978, however, the project lost its sponsor and came under the aegis of the Western Queens YETP. The first sponsor had exercised rigid control over the day-to-day operations of the staff, and relations were, at best, strained. The second sponsor, in contrast, gave the project free rein and, in fact, was almost overly detached. Project staff, consequently, experienced some sense of isolation.

The staff, located in a spacious airy storefront facility in Western Queens, consisted of a project director, a counselor, a job developer and a teacher. Two large rooms were used for classes and group counseling, while a number of smaller rooms were available for staff offices. The program served 50 participants, 35 in the first and 15 in the second cycle. Skills training did not take place on the premises but at worksites in the community. About two-thirds of the trainees were given experience in clerical and other office skills; most of the remaining participants were trained in carpentry and maintenance skills. Western Queens staff emphasized the importance of providing remedial education; attendance at remedial classes, in fact was "encouraged" by fines imposed on truant participants.

The staff had had little previous experience with youth programs. However, they were most determined that the 50 young people for whom they had assumed responsibility be adequately trained and prepared for the job market. They proved to be the most appreciative recipients, because of their lack of previous experience, of the technical assistance in the areas of testing, workshops, job development, and counseling which VFI provided.

Western Queens participants were 90 percent Hispanic. The population tended to be younger than the average Citywork client. Almost all lived at home with their families and their living standard was perhaps a bit lower than the norm. Although most were high school dropouts, their reading and math ability tested considerably higher than that of most Citywork participants. In all three areas of the Differential Aptitude Test , as well, their scores were at or above the Citywork norm. Most stemmed from the neighborhood and had learned about the program from a friend or, in many cases, by seeing a poster. Clients' major reason for enrolling in Citywork was to develop the job skills necessary for a decent job. Fewer than the average believed that success could be achieved without college and at least one-half expected to finish college. Almost as many aspired to jobs requiring a college education. The participants, though relatively young, seemed to be motivated and they were primarily concerned about obtaining the skills which would bring them into the ranks of the employed.

P. *Williamsburg Industrial Development Enterprises* (WIDE)

Williamsburg Industrial Development Enterprises occupy the top floor of a large building with tight security - including a rather vicious looking dog. Quarters are light, airy, spacious and rather professional in appearance. The agency came into being in 1972, as a result of a Federal grant designed to permit the conversion of the building into an industrial complex run by and supplying jobs for the community. Most of the agency's past experience had been with senior citizen and environmental programs.

The section of Brooklyn known as Williamsburg, in which the agency is located, is splintered by animosities between its various large ethnic minorities. The first project director, for example, was most concerned about the requirement of selecting participants through a lottery, not because (as many project directors feared) youth with educational skills inadequate for participation in the program might be drawn, but because Hispanics might be underrepresented in the drawing, and the community would be enraged. As it turned out, two-thirds of the participants were Hispanics.

The keynote of the WIDE program was turnover and dissension among the YETP staff, which included a project director, a counselor, and a job developer/program coordinator. (The assistance of the agency's permanent job developer was also available.) The YETP staff's relationship with WIDE's board of directors was not good, and this may have contributed to the staff turnover. At any rate, three project directors followed one another in rapid succession, and other staff members left before the end of the program. In fact, at one time program participants actually dispersed; they were gathered together again only toward the end of the program.

Still, a two-week orientation was held, participants were tested and assessed, group and individual counseling took place, and many participants were placed in work experience slots - some as clerical trainees, others as health or community aides, and still others as carpentry or maintenance trainees.

Altogether the program processed between 50 and 60 participants.* WIDE's clients were slightly older than the average Citywork youth and almost two-thirds, as noted, were Hispanic. Most lived at home with their family and a higher proportion than on the average were economically severely disadvantaged. Still, the high school dropout rate of this group was somewhat lower than that of most Citywork projects and WIDE clients' math and reading abilities approximated the Citywork norm.

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*We cannot be certain of the number because WIDE was one of two agencies - PAL was the other - which did not adhere to the identification code number system which had been set up by the evaluators in order to preserve the anonymity of participants.

Assuming the integrity of the conditions under which the Differential Aptitude Tests* were administered at WIDE, participants in this program had exceptional potential. In all three areas - mechnical reasoning, spatial relations, and clerical skills - they were more than twice as likely as the average Citywork participant to score in the high range.

As a group, WIDE participants were strongly oriented toward work. They enrolled in the program primarily for one end - a job, or at least the acquisition of skills which would lead to a good job. They unanimously disagreed that success could be achieved through luck rather than hard work; in fact, more than in any other agency, they believed that through hard work a person could become successful even without a college education. Nor were they ready to sit back and accept their condition in life; fully four-fifths disagreed that such acceptance leads to happiness.

It would seem then that WIDE participants with their high aptitude scores, strong motivation, and apparent belief in the power of hard work were strong candidates for successful placement through Project Citywork.

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*See Note 6.

SUMMARY

Clearly the client population of Project Citywork differed quite radically from one agency to another. Age, sex, economic deprivation, educational handicaps, motivation - all of these varied.* With respect to the programs themselves, their staff composition and staff relationships, space allocations, past experience with youth programs all Citywork agencies differed one from another, as well.

At question, however, is just which characteristics of participants and just which aspects of agencies or their programs were most closely associated with positive program outcomes. The next section will address these questions in detail.

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* For a complete overview, please see Table A1 in Appendix A.

V. PROGRAM OUTCOMES

A. *Official Definitions of Successful Outcomes*

Written into the contracts of all participating agencies with DOE was the obligation to place a minimum of 60 percent of their enrolled clients in full-time, unsubsidized, training-related employment, paying at least 20 percent above the current minimum wage. Further, to qualify as a positive placement, a youth had to be retained by the employer for 30 consecutive working days after placement.

DOE distinguished between three types of placements:

- direct placement, that is placement of a participant by the agency before the participant had actually received any program services such as counseling, remedial education, training, work experience, or on-the-job training;

- indirect placement, i.e., placement by the agency of a participant who had received any or all of the above program services;

- self-placement, i.e., a job obtained directly through the efforts of the participant (who may or may not have received program services).

Further, the prime sponsor, in an administrative order to all agencies early on in the program, added an additional specification:

> "The Department of Employment has contracted with the Educational Foundation of the New York Board of Trade for the purpose of developing on-the-job training positions for participants in the private-for-profit

> sector. The Board of Trade, with its strong business connections, is able to develop opportunities for youth in the private sector that have been traditionally closed to smaller community based organizations...." "To assure the widest diversity of opportunity for this program's participants, a minimum of twenty percent of each sponsor's placement obligation must be met through referrals to the Board of Trade."

In other words 20 percent of the 60 percent of clients which agencies were expected to place were to be transferred to the Board of Trade for placement.[8]

Not included in the 60 percent contractual obligation were "other-positive terminations." This referred to terminations of participants in some activity which might increase employability. In most cases this meant returning to school on a full-time basis, although transfer to another program or enlisting in the military were also counted as "other positive" terminations.

Finally, a participant might be in the non-positive category of terminations. A participant was classified in this category when separation from the program was regarded as not contributing to his or her employability. Counted as non-positively terminated were those who left the program for personal reasons (health, pregnancy), moved away, simply "disappeared," were still unplaced at the conclusion of the program, or who were "administratively separated" for reasons of poor conduct, lack of motivation, excessive absence, and so on.

From the point of view of the prime sponsor, placement in unsubsidized employment was clearly the indicator of an agency's success. And indeed, one-fifth of clients enrolled in Project Citywork in order to obtain a job. As we saw previously, however, many participants entered the program with other goals, such as developing job skills, learning about themselves, or improving their reading and math. All of these goals can surely be seen as relevant to the explicit objective of Project Citywork, namely "to increase the employability of disadvantaged youth." Accordingly, we shall first look at "official" outcomes, i.e. placements for the sixteen programs and then - in a subsequent section - analyze some of the other measurable aspects of employability which might serve as additional indicators of "program success."

B. *Program Outcomes: Placements*[9]

The contractual obligation to place 60 percent of Project Citywork's enrolled clients in unsubsidized employment was not met: the overall placement rate - including direct, indirect, and self-placements - totalled only 41 percent. Eighteen percent were recorded as "other" positive terminations; two-thirds of this latter group returned to school; about one-fourth was transferred to another program and the remaining few entered the military. The non-positive termination rate was 41%.

TABLE V-A

PROGRAM OUTCOMES

	Placements Only	All Outcomes
Indirect Placements:	31%	
Self Placements:	7%	
Direct Placements:	3%	
Total Placements:	41%	41%
Other Positive Terminations:		18%
Non-Positive Terminations:		41%
		100%

(N = 624)

These overall outcome rates mask vast differences, however, from agency to agency. These are most easily seen in table form.

TABLE V-B

OFFICIAL OUTCOMES BY AGENCY (PERCENTS)

		TYPE OF TERMINATION			
AGENCY	N	% Direct or Indirect Placement	% Self-Placement	% Other Positive Termination	% Non-Positive Termination
All Participants	(624)	34	7	18	41
Boys Harbor	(45)	51	7	11	31
Chinatown	(47)	64	23	2	11
Convent Ave.	(40)	3	0	35	63
Corona	(56)	25	21	41	13
East Harlem	(35)	29	0	11	60
Educ'l Alliance	(43)	0	12	44	44
Edwin Gould	(47)	19	11	23	47
Magnolia Tree	(33)	21	12	6	61
PAL	(42)	33	5	21	41
Phoenix House	(27)	33	7	11	48
South Bronx	(47)	43	0	36	21
South Jamaica	(37)	60	0	3	38
Staten Island	(19)	0	0	32	68
Theatre Forgotten	(52)	38	4	15	42
Western Queens	(40)	55	0	8	38
WIDE	(57)	28	7	17	48

Altogether, only four programs fulfilled or came close to fulfilling the 60 percent contractual obligation: Chinatown (87 percent), South Jamaica (60 percent), Boys Harbor (58 percent), Western Queens (55 percent).[10] In contrast, four programs had non-positive termination rates of 60 percent or higher: Convent Avenue (63 percent), East Harlem (60 percent), Magnolia Tree (61 percent), and Staten Island (68 percent).[11]

How program outcomes varied from agency to agency can further be seen by looking at "other positive" termination rates. In several instances, an agency's low placement rate can be explained by the fact that a high proportion of participants returned to school on a full-time basis or were transferred to a different program. For instance, Convent Avenue, Educational Alliance, and Staten Island with their negligible placement rates had "other positive" termination rates of 35 percent, 44 percent and 32 percent, respectively. Other programs with "other positive" termination rates much higher than the 20 percent average were Corona, with 41 percent and South Bronx, with 36 percent. In contrast, only 2 percent of clients from the Chinatown program, 3 percent from South Jamaica, 6 percent from Magnolia Tree, and 8 percent from Western Queens were recorded as "other positive" terminations.

In addition to placement quotas, the prime sponsor's requirements for correct placements included several other factors. First, placements were to be related to the training received by the participant in the course of the program. Second, the rate of pay was to be at least 20 percent above the minimum wage. Third, employment was to last for at least 30 working days. Fourth, 20 percent of the placements were to be the result of referrals to the Educational Foundation of the New York Board of Trade. And finally, although not explicitly part of the contract, it was expected that these community-based organizations would seek to develop the bulk of their jobs for clients in the private sector. Let us look briefly at the extent to which these program mandates are fulfilled by the sixteen agencies.

1. Training-related jobs

According to the official termination forms (completed by staff for each participant), 83 percent of the placements were training-related. This figure ranged, however from 100 percent in Chinatown and Western Queens to less than 50 percent in the Corona program. On the whole, the very agencies which were most successful in placing their participants were also most likely to place them in positions which were related to the training their clients had received.

This finding suggested a connection between the area of work experience or training and the probability of placement in a training-related job. Analyzing this possible connection, we found that a participant had the highest chance of being placed in a training-related job when training itself had been in the clerical or office skills area. Our data indicate, as can be seen on Table V-C, that three-quarters of clerical trainees went on to be placed in clerical jobs in contrast to one-half of those trained in carpentry or maintenance skills. Participants whose work experience was gained as hospital, recreational or educational aides were least likely to find jobs related to their training area.

TABLE V-C

AREA OF TRAINING vs. TRAINING-RELATED PLACEMENTS

Area of Training	% Placed in Training-Related Jobs*	
Clerical	(128)	76%
Carpentry/Maintenance	(40)	52%
Hospital, Recreational, Educational Aides	(31)	22%

Although the data did not permit an agency-by-agency analysis of this matter, we do report in a later part of this chapter the relative importance of some of the factors that contribute to the higher placement rate in training-related jobs of those clients who were trained in clerical skills. The question we raise there is: What accounts for the advantage clerical trainees enjoyed; was it:

- the clients' own characteristics,
- the program's institutional features, or
- the job market condition at the time?

2. Wages and Salaries

According to official directives, participants were to be placed in jobs paying 20 percent above the current minimum wage level.[12] On the average, this would approximate a weekly salary of $125.

Unfortunately, although wage information was to have been provided on the official DOE termination form, it was frequently missing or unintelligible. Further, because in some agencies only a small proportion of participants had been placed, the numbers from which average wages could be computed are far too small to draw conclusions.

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* The numbers in parentheses represent the total placed in jobs after training in any area.

We can report, however, that for the employed Citywork population as a whole, the average weekly wage was $132 - slightly more than 20 percent above the minimum wage. If there is any pattern to be seen, given the limitations of the data, it is that average weekly wages were higher in those agencies which were more successful in developing jobs for their participants, in the first place (agencies with high placement rates), and in placing them in training-related occupations, in the second. It would appear that the less successful agencies were forced to place as many clients as possible, without regard for the kind of job or the rate of remuneration.

3. The 30 day clause

There is no way of knowing, or even estimating the longevity of placements. On practically every termination form completed for a placed Citywork client, staff noted that the duration of employment was expected to exceed 150 days. The basis for this expectation is not made explicit. We checked the dates on which the termination forms were completed against the dates on which the participants started work. We found that in all but a few instances the participant had been working no longer than a few days; in some cases the participant had not actually started on the job.

Accordingly, we cannot (nor can the prime sponsor) document whether the 30-day requirement was fulfilled. Nor, of course, do we know whether the client liked the job, or whether he or she thought it would lead to better opportunities. Despite our request for it, a longitudinal component was not included in the evaluation contract. For this reason, we cannot answer questions concerning duration of employment, job satisfaction and performance, subsequent activities, etc.

4. Board of Trade Referrals

As the reader will recall, 20 percent of each agency's contractually required placements were to be achieved through the Board of Trade. This did not take place, for many reasons which will be discussed in a later section.* On the whole, according to staff reports, about 20 percent of all participants were referred to the Board of Trade for placement. WIDE staff said that they had referred 67 percent of their clients and East Harlem reported that 54 percent of their participants had been referred for transferral to Board of Trade. The specification of DOE, however, was not referral to but placement through, Board of Trade of 20 percent of each agency's placements.

Four agencies obviously could not comply with this mandate as their programs started only shortly before that of Board of Trade's ended, for the same reason none of the second cycle participants (of those agencies with two cycles) could be referred.

According to the data provided to us by the Board of Trade itself, between 70 and 80 Citywork clients were transferred from the (then) twelve participating agencies, but only nine placements of Citywork clients were actually effected. Clearly, most of the agencies tried to avail themselves of the services to be provided through Board of Trade and attempted to comply with the "20 percent rule"; it was Board of Trade that was unable to fulfill its original expectation of placing Citywork clients.

5. Private Sector Employment

The primary reason for including the Educational Foundation of the New York Board of Trade in Project Citywork was precisely because of its wide business connections, through which it was expected to be able to develop jobs for Citywork clients in the private sector. Even without much aid from the Board of Trade, however, over two-thirds of the job slots in which Citywork youth were placed were in the private sector.

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* Chapter VI.

As will be seen later, the ability of an agency to place its clients in private sector jobs hinged on the areas in which training took place, but it also depended in some measure on the characteristics of participants. Private sector employers, in other words, were willing to take a chance on hiring some kinds of youth, but were reluctant to gamble on others.

6. Summary

In sum, two out of five Citywork clients had been placed successfully by the end of the program. Most of these placements were training-related and in the private sector (although almost none had been implemented through the Board of Trade). Very few placements were in the "direct" category.[13] The wages received by those who had been successfully placed generally exceeded the current minimum wage by 20 percent as mandated by the prime sponsor. We do not know, however, how long these young people remained in the jobs in which they had been placed.

Although only four programs came close to fulfilling the contractual obligation of a 60 percent unsubsidized placement rate, nine of the sixteen agencies were able to record close to a 60 percent total positive termination rate, that is a combined placement and "other positive" termination rate. Recall, that Project Citywork was conceived and implemented as an experimental demonstration program. Participating agencies were assured (in writing) that DOE was aware that some agencies would have more difficulty than others in fulfilling their contractual obligations because of the nature of their particular clientele. In an early memo to all projects, the prime sponsor noted:

> "Evaluation of contractual obligations will be performed on all projects at the termination of this program. The population served, the enrolling of participants with learning handicaps, and the difficulty in servicing this clientele will be considered. No project will have these factors held against them nor will it adversely effect (sic) DOE's consideration of their potential funding." 14

Indeed we saw that the enrollees in some agencies were considerably more educationally and economically handicapped than in others. Further, we saw that some programs emphasized remedial education more than did others – perhaps at the expense of skills training and job development. A 44 percent "other positive" termination rate, accordingly, even when combined with a close to zero placement rate, may still signify a "successful" program in light of the program's clientele and goals.

Our next step, therefore, is to go beyond the official outcome statistics and to address the question of why some agencies were more successful in placing their participants than were others. What particular constellation of client characteristics and programmatic components best predict the ability of an agency to place its clients in the job market? What kinds of clients in what kinds of agencies were likely to return to school? How can we explain the high non-positive termination rates of some agencies? And finally, is it possible on the basis of our findings to delineate what might be called a "model program," that is, a program which has a high probability of successfully placing its participants in unsubsidized employment?

C. *Client Characteristics and Placement*

In this section, we will focus on the clients' own characteristics, such as their age, sex or educational level, and see how these characteristics facilitate or impede a client's chances of being placed.

We shall here look at client characteristics one at a time, although we recognize that in real life, a person's characteristics tend to cluster in predictable ways. For example, younger clients also tend to have less education, and clients with a lower educational attainment tend to have lower reading and math scores.

In a later section, we will try to determine the relative impact of client characteristics, and in that joint analysis we shall find that some of the simple findings presented here are modified. To preserve clarity we shall proceed from the simple to the complex.

1. Gender

Clients appeared to have an equal chance of being placed, irrespective of their gender. Women, however, were more likely than men to end up in jobs related to the training they had received; seventy percent found employment in clerical, secretarial, or other office jobs. Only one quarter of the men were placed in offices; 21 percent of the men, as compared with one percent of the women, were placed in maintenance or carpentry jobs. Because of the nature of their jobs, male clients were more likely than female clients to be employed in the private sector.

Women were somewhat more likely than were men, to be earning over $125 a week because male clients were largely employed at semi-skilled, unskilled, or service jobs, where wages were lower than in clerical or secretarial positions. When we compared the weekly pay of men and women working at clerical jobs, we found no evidence of sex discrimination.

2. Age

More than any other client characteristic, age appeared to be the strongest predictor of program outcome. More than one-half of the 20 or 21 year olds, compared with only one-fourth of those 16 to 17 were placed in jobs. Conversely, one-half of the youngest group, but just over one-third of the oldest clients, were non-positively terminated. As might be expected, many of the youngest participants returned to school or were transferred to a different program when Project Citywork ended.

The oldest clients were somewhat more likely than the youngest clients to enter jobs which were related to the training they had received and they were also a little more likely to be earning salaries exceeding $150 a week, again because three out of five of the oldest participants were placed in the clerical field, where wages were generally higher.

3. Ethnicity

By whatever official indicator of program success, blacks were less likely than non-blacks to do well. Thirty-five percent of the blacks, compared with 56 percent of the non-blacks were placed in jobs. Similarly, only 29 percent of the non-black as against 44 percent of the black participants were non-positively terminated. Again, blacks were less likely to be placed in the private sector and in training-related positions. And finally, salaries or wages of blacks were lower than those received by non-blacks.

We probed further and found that blacks were paid at a lower rate than non-blacks, even when we compared blacks and non-blacks within:

- the same type of work
- the same employment sector, i.e., public or private
- the same age categories
- the same educational levels
- the same levels of reading ability.

This information is shown in Table V-D below.

TABLE V-D

Percent of Placed Citywork Participants Receiving $150 a Week or More

		Not Black		Black		All Clients	
ALL CLIENTS: TOTAL		25	(75)	16	(141)	19	(216)
TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT:	Clerical	32	(54)	22	(70)	26	(124)
	Skilled or semi-skilled	16	(12)	11	(37)	12	(49)
SECTOR OF EMPLOYMENT:	Private sector	33	(40)	12	(67)	19	(107)
	Public sector	18	(22)	18	(43)	18	(65)
AGE:	16-17 young	20	(10)	15	(13)	17	(23)
	18-19 older	27	(26)	14	(74)	17	(100)
	20-21 oldest	26	(39)	19	(54)	22	(93)
YEARS OF SCHOOLING:	10 or less	21	(28)	14	(39)	17	(77)
	11	14	(14)	15	(40)	15	(54)
	12	33	(33)	17	(52)	27	(75)
CAT READING SCORE:	Low*	25	(52)	13	(76)	18	(128)
	High*	26	(23)	18	(65)	20	(88)
TYPE OF PLACEMENT:	Agency	20	(55)	17	(111)	19	(161)
	Self	56	(14)	14	(14)	37	(28)

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*CAT Reading: Low = 6th grade or less.
High = 8th grade or higher.

The last item in Table V-D, however, provides particularly strong evidence of the need for programs like Project Citywork. It shows first that blacks are far less able than non-blacks to find jobs on their own. Agency placements for blacks outnumbered self-placements at a ratio of 8:1 (111:14) compared to a ratio of 4:1 (55:14) for non-blacks. But even more important, the jobs which blacks found on their own were less lucrative than those in which non-blacks placed themselves: only 14 percent of the self-placed blacks, but 56 percent of the self-placed non-blacks, were being paid $150 a week or more. In contrast, wage differences all but disappear when we look at blacks and non-blacks who were placed by the agencies. Apparently YETP represents a first step toward eliminating the large wage differential between blacks and non-blacks which has characterized the American labor market since the Civil War.

Thus far in our analysis of ethnic differences in program outcomes, we have only compared blacks and non-blacks. Our data also enable us, however, to see how the Hispanics in our population fared under Project Citywork. Without qualification, it appears that Hispanics in the program did well. Their placement rate was 46 percent, compared with 38 percent for non-Hispanics, and their non-positive termination rate was slightly lower than that of non-Hispanics.

However, while both groups were equally likely to be placed in jobs related to the training they had received, Hispanics were less likely to find jobs in the private sector. Further, like the blacks in the program, very few Hispanics found their own jobs; almost all were placed by the agencies. Unlike the blacks, however, Hispanics appeared to do better in terms of pay than non-Hispanics.

4. Economic Disadvantage

Eligibility for acceptance into Project Citywork presumed an income no greater than 85 percent of the BLS lower living level. Everyone in the program, accordingly, was economically disadvantaged but, as we saw previously, some more so than others. Those who were relatively less disadvantaged were apparently easier to place and less likely to be non-positively terminated.

TABLE V-E

Level of Economic Disadvantage and Type of Termination

Type of Termination	Economically More Disadvantaged Below 70% of Lower Living Standard	Economically Less Disadvantaged 85%-70% Below Lower Living Standard
Placements	35%	46%
Other Positive Terminations	20%	18%
Non-Positive Terminations	45%	36%
(N)	(326)	(204)

The less deprived youth were more likely to find training-related employment, although less likely to be placed in private sector jobs. And finally, severe economic deprivation went hand in hand with a low rate of self-placement, underscoring again the greater reliance of this group on programs such as Project Citywork.

5. Education and Ability

Only one quarter Citywork participants had completed high school, but that group clearly had a strong advantage over those who had dropped out. And the dividing line is clearly between completing high school and not: those with nine, ten, or eleven years of schooling did about the same: one-third were placed, one-half were non-positively terminated, and the remainder were recorded as "other positive" terminations. By contrast, fully one-half of the high school graduates found jobs and only one in five became a non-positive termination. The remainder returned to school, presumably to college.

It has long been documented that personnel people consider a high school diploma a *sine qua non* for employment. Somehow, they reason, young people who have remained in school till graduation are likely to have the qualities of responsibility, perseverance, and motivation which will make them steady, productive employees. There is little evidence to document these suppositions, says Berg (1970), but the stereotype persists and underlies the decision-making process of those responsible for hiring. Our data indicate that completion of high school is indeed a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for entering the world of employment.[15]

Reading and math ability, as measured by the CAT scores, are also related to program outcomes. A youth with a high reading score is one and a half times more likely to be placed and less than half as likely to be a non-positive termination than is one with a low reading score. Math ability has an even stronger effect: 24 percent of those with low math scores against 60 percent of those with high math scores were placed in jobs. Furthermore, youths in the low math ability range were almost three times more likely to be non-positively terminated than their higher counterparts. Aptitude, as measured by the Differential Aptitude Test,[16] is also positively related to program outcomes, spatial relations mechanical reasoning having a stronger positive association with positive program outcomes than clerical skills.

6. Presence of Children

Approximately one-fourth of Citywork participants were parents. Overall, the placement rate of parents - whether male or female - was similar to that of the average Citywork participant, but the quality of placements differed: parents were almost three times as likely as non-parents (32 percent compared with 11 percent) to find themselves in the non-profit sector in lower paying jobs. Twenty-three percent of parents as against 10% of non-parents returned to school.

Some young parents - largely women - had difficulties during the program because of their parental responsibilities. According to staff, such responsibilities interfered with their ability to participate fully in at least a third of these cases. These cases were significant in that they resulted in extremely low placement and high non-positive termination rates, as can be seen below:

TABLE V-F

Parenthood and Type of Termination

Parental Status	(N)	Placement Rate	Non-Positive Termination Rate
No Child	(457)	41%	41%
Child, but no interference in program participation	(88)	43%	32%
Child did interfere	(39)	32%	54%

These differences underscore the obvious need for additional supportive services for young parents who are eager to participate in youth employment and training programs. Day care arrangements are indeed essential.

7. A Criminal Record

One in fourteen Citywork participants entered the program with a special handicap: a criminal record. We expected that this group would be particularly difficult to place, but the data do not confirm this expectation; agency placement rates were identical for those convicted or incarcerated and those without a criminal record.

Those with a criminal record, however, had difficulty finding jobs on their own; the self-placement rate for this group was only four percent.

Again, this underscores the need for programs like Project Citywork to assist those with social handicaps to enter the job market.

8. Attitudes

Citywork participants, as we have seen, entered the program with varying priorities which we found to be related to program outcomes. For example, among those whose primary purpose was to develop job skills or to come to an understanding of differnt opportunities for employment, the placement rate was close to 50 percent and non-positive terminations less than one in three.

Conversely, Citywork was clearly not designed as a primarily remedial or therapeutic program for educationally or psychologically disadvantaged youth, because the group whose primary goal was to improve their educational skills or to "get their life together" did not fare as well. Only one in three was placed, and almost one-half were non-positively terminated.

Other attitudes impinged on program outcomes, as well. Some participants tended to place their faith in the power of luck and to adopt a rather fatalistic approach to the future. Others, in contrast, denied that luck was more important than hard work in getting ahead in life, or that happiness lay in accepting the conditions dealt one by life's circumstances. Just as Coleman (1966) had found that among young people, a sense of control over one's destiny was related to high academic achievement, we also found it to be related to success in the program. This can be seen in Table V-G.

TABLE V-G

A Sense of Control Over One's Destiny and Program Outcomes

Degree of a Sense of Control	(N)	Placements	Non-Positive Terminations
High	(301)	44%	33%
Medium	(111)	39%	42%
Low	(133)	33%	54%

The finding, that success in a training program such as Project Citywork is related to the participants' outlook on life is significant in two respects. First, it confirms the findings of previous research, but more critically, it points to the importance of addressing these matters in the counseling process. Training in actual work skills or teaching youngsters how to complete an application, how to use the mass transit system effectively, how to dress for an interview, how to be punctual - all of these are not enough: counseling must go further and probe at the root of young people's basic orientation toward life, since this has a definite bearing on their success or failure in a job training program.

9. Degree of Congruence Between Academic Ability and Work Expectations

As we noted when we described the educational and attitudinal characteristics of the Citywork enrollees, many entered the program with extremely poor reading and math ability, yet aspired to occupations requiring extensive schooling. The discrepancies between ability and aspiration we found have programmatic implications, they are related to a participant's chances of being placed on a job. If we combine the two variables - ability and amount of education needed for entry into the client's occupational choice - we find that participants can be categorized as follows:

TABLE V-H

Client Ability and Requirement of Desired Job	(N)*	OUTCOMES Placements	Non-Positive Terminations
Low Ability; college degree not required	(171)	39%	42%
Low Ability; college degree required	(106)	22%	47%
High Ability; college degree not required	(62)	40%	21%
High Ability; college degree required	(84)	42%	25%

As we can see, the lowest placement rate by far, as well as the highest negative termination rate, is for participants whose occupational reach far exceeds their current educational grasp. Furthermore, those with low ability but high expectations ended up, when they were placed, in the poorest occupational slots. They were strongly underrepresented in the (higher-paying) clerical positions.

The two factors of ability and expectation must be brought into greater congruence by counseling. One clearly does not want to dash noble expectations; accordingly, it is necessary to attempt to raise ability levels through remedial education. At the same time, however, counseling can make explicit to young people that certain occupations require extensive educational preparation, which in turn requires not only improvement of educational skills, but also effort and a willingness to defer gratification. In other words, taking on a much less prestigious job for the time being may provide experience and money for further upward movement.

Participants' educational aspirations, it is interesting and perhaps surprising to note, are negatively related to successful placement by the agency. Only 30 percent of those aspiring to a college degree were placed on jobs directly or indirectly by their agency, compared with almost 40 percent of those with more modest educational plans. Two factors account for this finding. First, those with higher aspirations were almost three times as likely as those without college plans to find jobs on their own. It appears that the more motivated participants were the more willing and able they were to act on their own.

Second, those with high educational aspirations were more likely than those with modest educational plans to return to school during or at the conclusion of the program. Their "other positive" termination rate was 24 percent, compared with 18 percent for those with no college plans. This suggests that participation in Project Citywork may have served as a catalyst for these young people to fulfill their educational aspirations.

D. *The Relative Power of Various Client Characteristics in Predicting Program Outcomes*

Toward the beginning of this section, we introduced the notion that the various seemingly discrete characteristics of a person are in reality interdependent, clustered in typical patterns. Nonetheless, we decided to examine each client characteristic separately, to see how it appears to affect chances of placement.

This analysis has shown that certain characteristics definitely tend to increase a participant's chances to be placed, while certain others tend to reduce the chances for placement and increase the chances for a non-positive termination.

Both types of factors are summarized below, in Table V-I.

TABLE V-I

Client Characteristics Conducive to Higher Placement Rates
And Factors Conducive to Higher Non-Positive Termination Rates

Characteristics Conducive to Higher Placement Rates	Characteristics Conducive to Higher Non-Positive Termination Rates
20-21 years old	16-17 years old
High School Graduate	High School Dropout
Oriental or other non-black	black
less economically disadvantaged	more economically disadvantaged
8th grade reading level or better	6th grade reading level or lower
7th grade math level or better	5th grade math level or lower
previous full-time employment	fatalistic attitude toward life
relatively low educational aspirations	desire for personal and educational improvement through program
determination to obtain skills training and learn about the job market in program	

As we noted earlier, many of the above factors are interrelated. Blacks also tend to be more economically and educationally disadvantaged, older participants were also more likely to have had previous full-time work experience, and so on. In order, therefore, to pinpoint the independent strength of various characteristics of participants in explaining program outcomes, we have utilized the statistical tool known as "regression analysis." This enables us to examine the effect of a single factor, while holding constant the effects of all the other characteristics which may interact with that factor. Our analysis indicates that four factors account significantly for variations in placement rates:

- years of schooling (the chance of being placed is substantially higher for high school graduates than for dropouts);
- ethnicity (being black significantly reduces the probability of placement);
- gender (once other factors have been held constant, males appear to have a better chance of placement);
- standard of living (the independent effect of a family income above the 70 percent of the BLS lower living standard is to increase the possibility of being placed).

In contrast to these four factors, other individual factors such as age, Hispanic background, reading or math ability, and attitudes lose most of their explanatory power once everything else has been held constant.

A note about the fact that gender exercises a strong independent influence on placement is in order, for recall that the simple correlation between this factor and placement was minimal. Once we have taken factors such as age, ethnicity, and schooling into account, however, males have a significant edge over females. Perhaps we can interpret this finding as follows:

Women in Project Citywork, compared with the men, tended to be older, not black, high school graduates, and better in math - all factors which might predict higher placement rates for them than for the male participants. Still, the women did no better - their placement rate was 39 percent compared with 43 percent for males (and this despite the additional fact that most of the women received training in clerical skills - an area in which placements were relatively high). It appears that once all things are equal, however, and the advantages with which women entered Citywork have been taken into account, males are easier to place, or perhaps special efforts are made to see that males are placed.[17]

In this section on clients' characteristics, we have explored the independent and combined influence upon placement rates of the participants' own characteristics. We still have to look at the effect of agency differences upon placement rates, however, because an agency's work may well constitute an independent additional influence upon placements.

Here are some examples: Magnolia Tree and South Jamaica both had an exceptionally high proportion of black participants. Since, on the whole, blacks had lower placement rates than non-blacks, we might anticipate poorer outcomes from these agencies. In fact, South Jamaica had one of the highest placement rates while Magnolia Tree had one of the lowest. In the same way, agencies with similar proportions of Hispanic clients (Educational Alliance, Edwin Gould, PAL, Staten Island) produced very different outcomes.

These several illustrations and others that could easily be offered show that individual characteristics must be looked at in the context of institutional factors if inter-agency differences in program outcomes are to be accounted for. The next section addresses this task.

E. *Institutional Factors As Predictors of Project Outcomes*

Institutional factors refer to the characteristics of the social and administrative settings within which Citywork participants with varying characteristics were enrolled. We classified the sixteen agencies along various institutional dimensions and then ascertained whether and to what extent agencies with different programs and institutional features varied in their ability to place participants. We divided these institutional factors into four categories:

- staff-related;
- agency-related;
- program-related;
- time-related.

TABLE V-J

Classification of Institutional Factors

Staff-Related Factors	Agency-Related Factors	Program-Related Factors	Time-Related Factors
Staff pay	Agency support for program	Work experience and/or OJT	Start-up time
Staff experience	Agency "job bank"	Worksite locations	One or Two Cycles
Staff relations	Agency experience	Skills Training component	
Staff turnover	Bureaucratic Compliance	Clerical orientation	
Staff/participant ratio			

1. Staff-Related Factors*

a. Staff Pay

Occasionally one's intuitive, common sense "knowledge" fails to be borne out by the facts. Certainly one would expect that staff who were well compensated would be more motivated and, accordingly, would produce more positive program outcomes than a poorly-paid staff. Further, staff who were well paid would probably have had more years of experience in counseling, skills training, or job development and would therefore be more likely to be successful with clients. These assumptions were belied by program outcomes: placement rates and non-positive termination rates were almost identical for agencies with better paid staff and for agencies in which staff compensation was lower.

These findings do not negate the importance of adequate compensation for those who work in youth training programs. We have noted that in most instances staff were motivated, conscientious, devoted and hard working. Perhaps this is why their low compensation did not seem to affect program outcomes. Still, continuing to underpay job developers and even project directors is surely not warranted, for it tends to cast doubt on the importance of the task they are performing for needy young people and for society.[18]

b. Staff Experience

Staff experience bore little or no relationship to program outcomes. Furthermore, staff experience and rate of compensation did not go hand-in-hand. Several agencies which ranked low on the pay scale ranked high on the staff ecperience scale - and *vice versa*. We do not know why this was the case, but we suspect that pay scales were a function of whatever those who were responsible for preparing the proposals felt the traffic could bear, and some agencies may have been overly cautious about budgeting for the program.[19]

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*See Appendix A, Table A5.

c. Staff Relations

In some agencies relations among staff were better than in others and these differences, in contrast to the factors of staff pay and experience, did relate to program outcomes.

In agencies where staff relations were good, placement rates approached the 50 percent mark. In contrast, where staff seemed to have problems getting along with one another or with a project director, placement rates averaged 33 percent. This is, of course, not a surprising finding. One can go as far back as the old Western Electric studies* of the thirties to find evidence that productivity is dependent upon more than just economic reward or the physical conditions of work; staff morale and integration are key ingredients of successful staff performance.

Relations among staff not only affected the proportion of participants placed, but also the quality of the jobs obtained for clients. Agencies in which relations were somewhat problematic were less likely to place participants in the private sector, in clerical jobs, or in relatively high-paying jobs. Similarly, in the agencies where staff relations were good, participants were more likely to be placed in jobs which related to the training or work experience they had received.

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*Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939.

d. Staff Turnover

Occasionally, but not as a rule, poor staff relations led to higher turnover rates, with interim staff shortages until replacements were made. Whether staff left for this or for personal reasons, it was true that staff turnover rates were related to program outcomes. Agencies in which turnover was low had slightly higher placement rates, and tended to find somewhat better paying, training-related (clerical) jobs in the private sector for their clients.

e. Staff/Participant Ratio

The staff-related factor which was most highly predictive of program outcomes, however, was staff adequacy as measured by the staff/participant ratio. All agencies could have used more personnel in dealing with the difficult tasks involved in increasing the employability of their disadvantaged youthful clientele. Some agencies, however, were less handicapped than others in this respect. Agencies in which the staff participant ratio was favorable (one staff member to 7 or 8 clients) were able to place one-half of their clients and non-positive terminations were only one in three.

These outcomes were practically reversed in agencies where the staff/participant ratio was much lower: almost one-half of the clients in these agencies were non-positively terminated and just one in three was placed. Further, a favorable staff/client ratio was accompanied by higher rates of placement in training-related, better-paying, clerical jobs.

2. Agency-Related Factors

a. Agency Support for Program

The extent to which the parent agency provided support and encouragement for the project under its aegis affected program outcomes much as intra-project staff relations did. An agency could provide such support on two levels, the instrumental and the affective. In the latter instance, this meant giving time, a willing ear, and encouragement to project staff in projects, where such support was provided, placement rates were higher and negative termination rates lower than for those projects, which experienced some difficulty with the parent agency. The quality of placements also was somewhat better when agencies were highly supportive of their Citywork projects; employment was considerably more likely to be in clerical jobs, in the private sector, and somewhat more likely to be training-related.

The second source of support from a parent agency was of a more instrumental sort. Some agencies, because of their own role and their experience with youth programs, had contacts and sources for work-experience or on-the-job training slots. Other agencies had to "start from scratch."

In fact, the availability of such an agency "job bank" was an asset which improved not only the placement rate but again, the probability of better-paying, clerical jobs in the private sector.

c. Agency Experience

The existence of a natural agency "job bank" often, but not in all cases, signified that an agency had had previous experience with youth employment training programs, if not with CETA-sponsored program. While staff experience working with disadvantaged youth was not related significantly to program outcomes, agency experience did make a difference. Agencies with previous experience had a higher placement rate (44 percent) and a lower non-positive termination rate (32 percent) than did agencies which were new to this field. The placement rate for this latter group was 32 percent and the non-positive termination rate almost one in two, 47 percent.

d. Bureaucratic Compliance

The final agency-related factor which, we hypothesized, might relate to program outcomes was the extent to which an agency complied with the "form completion" requirements of the prime sponsor and of the evaluation team. Our guess was that while such bureaucratic compliance could not be seen as a cause either of placement or of non-positive termination rates, both high compliance and high placement rates might be symptoms of the same conscientiousness and ability to function effectively.

Most agencies were extremely conscientious about completing the forms required by the prime sponsor, and the majority did their best to comply also with the requests of the Columbia evaluation team for retest data. However, some agencies did better than others in these two respects.

Compliance with prime sponsor requirements was measured by the ratio of offical termination forms to official intake forms received. Overall, official outcomes for three out of four participants for whom intake forms had been completed, were forwarded to us.

Retests and follow-up questionnaires were required purely for evaluation purposes, rather than being official requirements of the prime sponsor. Accordingly, although extensive time and effort were spent on trying to obtain these data, the return rate was considerably lower than that for the official termination form: approximately 40 percent of all Citywork participants were retested.

TABLE V-K

Bureaucratic Compliance and Outcomes

	Percent Placements Agencies With:				Percent Non-Positive Terminations Agencies With:			
Bureaucratic Requirement	High Compliance Rates		Low Compliance Rates		High Compliance Rates		Low Compliance Rates	
"Official", by Prime Sponsor	50	(382)	26	(285)	36	(382)	48	(285)
Evaluation data Requirements	46	(299)	31	(368)	35	(299)	59	(368)

Table V-K shows a strong relationship between what we term bureaucratic compliance and project outcomes. Again, we would like to stress that low placement and high negative termination rates are not caused by either an inability or an unwillingness to complete forms. Undoubtedly, the need for data for evaluation purposes was a source of irritation, requiring extra effort on the part of project personnel. Further, with very few exceptions, when we asked staff members what they liked least about their jobs, they mentioned the excessive amount of paperwork required in fulfillment of CETA regulations. Our findings suggest, however, that much as staff disliked the task, completing the necessary forms did not detract from their ability to meet program goals.

This section shows that the sponsoring agency's attitudes to the program it hosts, its previous experience, and its resources, all can alter substantially the outcomes of the program. It even seems that whether or not the agency is willing to take on the extra paperwork involved with hosting a project can serve as an indicator of project outcomes.[20]

We shall now proceed to look at factors that relate to the programs, themselves.

3. Program-related Factors

a. Work Experience and/or OJT

The majority of the programs did not have an on-the-job training component. Participants were placed in training slots in non-profit agencies - this was known as work experience - and then were supposed to be placed in permanent jobs in either the public or the private sector. Some agencies had shorter work experience components, followed by on-the-job training, after which permanent unsubsidized placement would take place. One or two agencies had contracted only for on-the-job training to be followed by unsubsidized employment.

We divided the agencies into two groups: those with work experience components only and those with on-the-job training, (OJT) either alone or in conjunction with work experience. Our guess had been that the latter group of agencies would be more successful in placing their Citywork participants, and particularly successful in placing them in the private sector. After all, many participants were expected to be retained by their OJT employers on an unsubsidized basis.

To our surprise, this was not the case. Agencies with only a work experience component were able to place 47 percent of their Citywork clients, while those with on-the-job training only, or with both on-the-job training and work experience, had a placement rate of only 33 percent. Similarly, the non-positive termination rate of the latter group was higher than that of the work-experience-only agencies. Further, even though work experience slots were all restricted to non-profit agencies and on-the-job training slots all to the private sector, agencies with work experience components only, were slightly more successful in placing their participants in private sector jobs, and at higher wage rates.

Ex post facto explanations of unexpected findings are always suspect but we shall risk some, anyway. First, the programs committed to on-the-job training all encountered difficulties developing these private sector slots for their inexperienced clients. Large business enterprises did not want to be bothered with the necessary paperwork required by DOE and CETA regulations. Small "mom and pop" shops not only feared the excessive paperwork, but were also reluctant to take on the financial burden of "minimum wage plus 20 percent" compensation for a raw, inexperienced, and often, ex-offender youth. The New York Board of Trade, which was to have assisted in developing these private sector OJT slots was also far from successful during the time it operated as a component of Project Citywork.

A second factor may account for the finding that work experience alone was more effective than on-the-job training either with or without work experience. As we saw when we looked at the characteristics of Citywork participants, these young people entered the program with substantial economic, educational, and psychological handicaps. They needed not only specific skills training, but, even more important, life training, guidance, support, counseling, remedial counseling, remedial education. Placement in a private sector slot removed the young person from the protective aegis of the agency. Such removal may well have been premature. Participants in on-the-job training slots were generally scheduled for one-half day a week of counseling at the agency. Those in work experience positions in the non-profit sector were generally able to maintain more regular and extensive contact with their counselors. In fact more than two out of five participants received their work experience right at the agency itself, or in a branch of the parent agency.

b. Work Site Location

One might argue that work experience thus constituted an unreal, over-protective work environment. But perhaps this was just what these young people needed, given the handicaps with which they entered the program. In any event, extensive work experience at the agency itself did not detract from eventual employment. Placement and non-positive termination rates for those whose work experience took place within the agency were just about identical with rates of those whose work experience was outside. In fact, clients who spent their work experience at the agency were considerably more likely than those who did not, to end up with better paying jobs in the private sector. These findings suggest that a protective work experience setting may be more effective for building up skills and removing handicaps than OJT out in the "real world."

c. Remedial and/or Skills Training Components

Some agencies provided neither remedial education classes nor actual classroom skills training, some provided one or the other, and still others provided both. In cases where neither remedial nor skills training classes were given, participants generally went through an orientation period, extensive vocational and personal counseling and then were sent out on work experience or on-the-job training slots where skills training would presumably be provided.

The lowest placement rate (17 percent) and highest non-positive termination rate (50 percent) was obtained for programs with remedial, but without skills training classes. The low placement rate for agencies which focused on remedial education is explained by the fact that these programs tended to send participants back to school, rather than place them in jobs. The high non-positive termination rate may stem from the fact that youths may have been disappointed by the emphasis on reading and math.

To many of these high school dropouts, it may have seemed too much like the school experience which they had rejected.

Our findings suggest that the most effective combination of program ingredients is a remedial component together with skills training classes. Skills training alone is not sufficient; these young people have educational handicaps which must be addressed. When the two are combined, the placement rate reaches 61 percent and the non-positive termination rate is a low 34 percent. This combination also seems to guarantee employment in the area in which training takes place, as well as considerably better-paying jobs.

d. Clerical Orientation

Finally, we look at one more program-related factor - namely the extent to which training and/or work experience was in the clerical area. Many of the proposal writers, well aware that entry-level opportunities in New York City were less difficult to find in the clerical than in any other area, had built a clerical skills training or work-experience component into their program.

Those agencies which had provided for neither clerical training nor for work experience in the clerical field were able to place only 15 percent of their clients, and the non-positive termination rate for this group was over 50 percent. In contrast, those programs which provided both clerical skills training and clerical work experience placed 60 percent of their participants, with only a 25 percent non-positive termination rate. More than one-half of these jobs were in the private sector, and one in four commanded a weekly salary of over $150.

Several programs, realizing only later that their best chance to place clients lay in clerical skills training and work experience, attempted to obtain budget modifications from the prime sponsor in order to bring in typewriters and to enable them to change their work experience slots. In several instances, minor budget modifications were granted.[21]

In sum, of all the institutional factors we have examined thus far, it appears that this is one of the most powerful predictors of placement. We already saw that the combination of remedial and skills training classes produced high placement rates. When that skills training, and subsequent work experience, are in an area where employment opportunities exist, (such as clerical jobs), the program has an excellent probability of placing most of its participants in jobs which pay well over the minimum wage. This finding implies that program planners have to do job market research before submitting or approving training proposals.[22]

4. Time-Related Factors

a. Start-up Time

We now turn to the last set of institutional factors which might impinge on program outcomes.

We had hypothesized that being one of the earlier projects to get started might be related to a project's effectiveness in placing participants. Our results indicate, however, that there were no clear patterns, although the "pioneers," that is, the first group of agencies to start up did slightly better. Whether these differences are the result of early enthusiasm as Citywork got underway, or of poorer economic conditions in New York City as the project drew to a close, is impossible to establish.[23]

b. One or Two Cycles

A more critical time-related factor, however, was whether a program was scheduled for one single eleven or twelve month cycle, or two half year cycles. This is, of course, a factor which warrants attention for its policy implications, for if two six-month programs can do equally well as one twelve-month program, more disadvantaged youth can be helped toward "employability" in one year.

Our data show that the two-cycle programs did better. Their placement rate was 48 percent, and their non-positive termination rate 37 percent, compared with 31 percent and 46 percent, respectively, for the single-cycle programs. While two-cycle programs were not as likely to place their participants in the private sector, they were more likely than the single-cycle programs to find training-related, better-paying jobs for their clients.

Why did the shorter programs do as well or better than the longer ones? After all, one might have supposed that the longer a program can provide supportive and training services for these handicapped youngsters, the better the chance of increasing their employability. Recall, however, that most participants were strongly motivated to find a job and that they needed jobs. Many, in fact, when asked whether they preferred to go to school or to get a job, chose the latter because as one said: "I need the money. I can't afford to sit around in school." It is likely that many of these young people never learned to defer gratification; and a year is a long time to "sit around" in a training program which, in many instances, resembles the school situation. Stipend notwithstanding - and only a few participants said that the stipend was a key factor in their decision to enroll in Citywork - these youngsters wanted to enter the job market. Half a year appears adequate to provide the supportive counseling, the life skills, remedial and vocational training, as well as the work experience to ready them for employment.[24]

Finally, we might ask whether in the eight agencies which had two-cycle programs there was any significant difference in outcomes from cycle to cycle. In fact, we find that placement rates were similar for the two cycles, but non-positive termination rates higher for second cycle of programs.

TABLE V-L

Program Outcomes by Cycle

Type of Termination	Cycle 1	Cycle 2
	(223)	(138)
Placement	47%	44%
Other Positive	19%	11%
Non-Positive	34%	45%

Were there any significant differences in client characteristics between Cycles One and Two? On the whole, the answer is no: with respect to the characteristics which were most likely to predict placement or non-positive termination rates, neither cycle appeared to be particularly advantaged.

Still, negative termination rates were higher for second cycle participants. We think that the explanation is that the difference can largely be accounted for by many non-positive outcomes in three specific agencies.[25]

Looking separately at the 3 agencies where non-positive termination rates rose for cycle-two participants, we find that in one of these agencies, second-cycle participants were more severely handicapped, both educationally and economically. A large percentage of their cycle-two participants were sent back to school rather than placed on jobs. In another of these agencies, staff problems became particularly acute during the program's second cycle, and the project director was relieved of responsibility.

In the third agency the possible explanation may be that a delay in DOE paychecks for staff and the participants during the 2nd cycle caused many clients not to complete the program and to be recorded as non-positive terminations.

In general, second cycle programs had an unanticipated problem which may help explain why - despite their increased experience - staff were not able to place participants at a higher rate than in the first cycle. In many programs, during the second cycle, staff were working under a "double load:" while cycle-two participants were already receiving their orientation, counseling, and skills training, staff were still involved in the task of attempting to place cycle-one clients who had not as yet been terminated.[26]

5. Summary

Summing up our institutional factors, we find that programs with high placement rates (and low non-positive termination rates) were likely to have the following features:

- a favorable staff/participant ratio (7 or 8 clients to a staff member)
- a staff which worked harmoniously together
- an experienced parent agency which provided both affective encouragement and instrumental support (in the form of "bank" of job slots for work experience or OJT placement)
- a clerically oriented program.

- a work experience program in the non-profit sector, rather than an OJT program in a private-sector setting

- a combination of remedial education and classroom skills-training before placement in a work experience slot

- a shorter (5-6 month) rather than a longer (11-12 month) program.

We have seen that quite a number of factors - both individual and institutional - are related to program outcomes. If we wish to construct what might be called a "model program," that is, a program with a high probability of successfully placing disadvantaged youth in the world of work, we have to bring together all the information we have gathered, in two ways:

- First, we will examine the joint effects of individual and institutional factors, in order to see which type of young people seem to benefit most from which institutional settings.

- Second, we will summarize all our findings by trying to determine the relative independent strength of the key individual and institutional factors in predicting successful program outcomes.

F. *Joint Effects of Institutional and Individual Factor on Outcomes*

Rather than drown the reader within a sea of statistics, let us give just one example of the relationship between the individual and institutional factors before summarizing the most clearly discernible patterns for all the Citywork data. The reader will recall that blacks had a placement rate substantially lower than non-blacks (45% vs. 56%). In no institutional setting did the placement rate for blacks rise as high as the non-black average of 56 percent, but in programs where blacks received remedial education plus skills training, their placement rate reached a high of 51 percent. Thus, favorable institutional factors produced a black placement rate almost a third higher than the black average for Citywork. Unfortunately, all but 22 percent, compared with 40 percent

TABLE V-M

Placement Rates for Blacks and Non-Blacks by Institutional Factors

Institutional Setting	Placement Rates	
	Blacks	Non-Blacks
Overall Placement Rate	35% (434)	56% (142)
a. Staff Relations		
Poor	37 (294)	35 (68)
Good	33 (140)	74 (35)
b. Program Type		
OJT	32 (223)	34 (38)
Work Experience	39 (211)	64 (104)
Skills Training or Work Experience	40 (222)	44 (61)
Skills Training and Work Experience	49 (106)	79 (58)
c. Clerical Component		
Absent	13 (106)	26 (23)
d. Classroom Experience		
In either Remedial, or Skills Training or neither	30 (340)	40 (80)
In both Remedial and Skills Training	51 (94)	77 (62)

of non-black, tended to be concentrated in programs which provided either remedial education or skills training, or neither. To summarize, then, both blacks and non-blacks do better as the quality of the program improves, but non-blacks tend to do fairly well even in poorer programs and exceptionally well in better ones, while blacks do well only in the better programs.

The same pattern we just described holds when we compare older and younger participants, high school graduates and dropouts, or clients with higher and lower abilities. In fact, as we examine the interaction of individual and institutional factors, we can summarize our findings as follows:

1. Certain individual traits - ethnicity, education, ability, age - are closely related to program outcomes;

2. Certain institutional factors - work experience versus on-the-job training, a clerical component, skills training and remediation, staff relations - also predict program outcomes;

3. All participants - black or not, younger or older, high school graduates or not, with high or low reading or math skills - benefit from programs which predict high placement rates;

4. However, clients whose individual traits themselves predict relatively high placement rates - non-black, 20-21 year old, high school graduate, good reading or math

ability - do well even in programs where institutional factors are unfavorable (poor staff ratios, on-the-job training, no skills training, no clerical component).

5. Clients whose individual traits predict low placement rates - black, 16-17 year old, high school dropout, poor reading or math ability - only do well in a favorable institutional setting (good staff ratios, work experience rather than on-the-job training, remediation and skills training classes, a clerical component).

In sum, young people who might be able to make it on their own do extremely well in programs like Project Citywork, particularly in "good" programs. In those instances where institutional factors are particularly favorable, their placement rates range from 65 to 80 percent, but even where institutional factors are less favorable, about two out of five of these young people tend to find jobs.

In contrast, the truly disadvantaged, handicapped youth not only need programs like Project Citywork, but their successful placement depends upon a complex of favorable institutional factors. This particularly difficult-to-place group requires the encouragement of an adequate and highly motivated staff, the support of educational and skills training classes, the unpressured work experience provided in a non-profit, institutional setting, and finally, the training and experience in an area (such as clerical work) where jobs are more likely to be available.

An analysis of self-placements, which constituted almost one in five of all placements, further underscores the special need of disadvantaged youth for projects like Citywork. Jobs which participants were able to find on their own differed from agency placements. On the one hand, they were much less likely to be in the non-profit sector and considerably more likely to be in large business enterprises, where pay scales are higher, or on the other hand, in the (private) service sector, where weekly wages are lower than in the non-profit sector. As a result we found that self-placed participants tended to be earning either over $150 a week or less than minimum wages, while agency-placed youth tended to earn somewhere between those two extremes.

What is significant, however, is that the lower-paid self-placements were obtained by the younger, black or Hispanic, high school dropouts. The higher-paying jobs in large private enterprises were found by the older, white or Oriental clients who were high school graduates with a higher reading or math ability. In other words, the very clients whom agencies were better able to place were more likely to be able to find decent jobs on their own; those whom agencies had the most difficulty placing, were only occasionally able to place themselves, and then only in poor-paying, lower entry-level jobs.

Without further belaboring the point, we would like to summarize this important finding. Table V-N repeats information the reader is already familiar with, but the data are arranged to illustrate the significance of agency assistance for black placements.

First, the data illustrate that placement rates as a whole were lower for blacks than for non-blacks regardless of years of schooling or reading and math ability. Second, we find, when we separate placements into those made by the agency and those which were self-obtained, that the agencies were equally able to place blacks and non-blacks, as long as the former were high school graduates with high math or reading ability.

Even these relative elite blacks, however, were not as likely as their non-black counterparts to find jobs on their own. The self-placement rate of the high school graduates who were not black was between three and four times as high as that for blacks (26 compared to 7 percent). In the same way, the non-blacks with high reading or math scores were three times more likely than blacks with similar scores to obtain jobs on their own.

Programs like Project Citywork, in other words, are needed not only to serve the most disadvantaged (minority) youth. Even minority youth with high potential (high ability, high school graduates) still encounter difficulty finding jobs on their own.

The table on the next page (V-N) illustrates the relative impact of agency placements, as against self-placements, among black and non-black clients. The table's three sections show the breakdown of overall placement rates for clients of differential educational levels and abilities. The framed figures highlight the differential impact of the agency on black and non-black placements.

TABLE V-N

The Power of Agencies to Improve Black Placement Rates

		Blacks		Non-Blacks	
All Participants:		(35)	(434)	(56)	(142)
1. Placements For Blacks and Non-Blacks by Years of Schooling					
Less than 11 years of schooling		28	(184)	45	(65)
11 years of schooling		31	(150)	50	(30)
12 or more years of schooling		56	(100)	74	(47)
Placements of those with 12 or more years of schooling	Self Placements	7		25	
	Agency Placements	49		49	
2. Placements For Black and Non-Blacks by Reading Scores					
Low CAT Reading Score		30	(293)	55	(99)
High CAT Reading Score		48	(141)	58	(43)
Placements of those with high reading scores	Self Placements	6		16	
	Agency Placements	42		42	
3. Placement Rates For Blacks and Non-Blacks by Math Scores					
Low CAT Math Score		27	(302)	43	(70)
High CAT Math Score		55	(132)	69	(72)
Placements of those with high math scores	Self-Placements	6		18	
	Agency Placements	49		51	

In this section we have analyzed the impact of institutional and individual factors on one another. We shall now turn to our final analytic task, to assess the relative impact of all the factors we have so far discussed.

G. *What Counts Most for Whom? A Summary*

Our final step, in trying to assess the relative impact of various individual and institutional factors of program outcomes was to regress placement against all of the factors which singly influenced the probability that a participant would end up in an unsubsidized job.

Three individual and two institutional factors emerge from our statistical analysis as the most powerful determinants of placement rates:

- "high" academic performance/ability, measured by CAT Math Score;
- a high school diploma;
- being male;
- a program with a work experience component, as it was defined in Project Citywork;
- clerical skills training and work experience.

What does it mean that these five[27] factors have the most explanatory power, and what happened to some of the other explanatory factors we discussed up to this point, for example, ethnicity? If blacks had lower placement rates - except inasmuch as they were helped by a good program - why is "not being black" not on the list of the final most powerful predictors of successful program outcomes?

The reason is that when institutional as well as individual factors are looked at together, we find that it is not ethnicity, *per se*, but the disadvantages that go with certain ethnic conditions that largely account for the ethnic variation in placement rates. In other words, not because of their blackness but because of the disadvantages that *arise from the black condition* in our society, black Citywork participants had a reduced chance of being placed or placed well. Blacks entered the program with considerably more severe economic and educational handicaps than non-blacks. They were younger, more likely to be high school dropouts, scored low on the CAT reading and math tests, and to compound their problems, were under-represented in just the kinds of programs (combined remedial education and skills training, followed by work experience in a clerical area) which were most successful in placing clients. Once all of these factors are held constant, however, the power of ethnicity as an explanatory factor is reduced.[28]

If we take the analysis a step further, and regress placement rates against individual and programmatic factors *separately for blacks and non-blacks*, we can determine more fully what kind of programmatic emphasis is more effective for each of these two subgroups (see Table A-6 in Appendix A). These separate regressions indicate that given the fact that non-blacks have entered Citywork with a constellation of factors already in their favor, there is little left to "account" for variations in their placement rates. Most of them were placed *because* they entered the "right" set of characteristics. For this group, the only factor which takes on a strong explanatory power is the staff/participant ratio (which itself is highly correlated with other positive programmatic factors).

Blacks, in contrast, need "everything" if they are to be placed - ability, a high school diploma, "maleness", and a program which provides them with both remedial and skills training classes, with the latter in the clerical area. If programs are to deal with the difficult problem of placing blacks, in other words, they must engender optimal conditions and components.[29]

Our findings suggest that what is happening in these youth training programs is analagous to what has occurred in the educational and occupational sphere. We know that it is not enough to give blacks and whites an "equal" education, for blacks enter the school system with handicaps which constrain their ability to catch up with their white counterparts. In the same way, blacks enter these training programs, as we have seen, more economically and educationally disadvantaged than their non-black counterparts. The latter can generally - even given a less than optimal program and a few personal handicaps - make it. Blacks, however, do need optimal conditions. A program must not only provide skills training, but also address itself to the educational handicaps with which its black clients enter.

In a word, what we are talking about is the need for what can best be termed affirmative action within YETP. What holds true for schools and for the "real" world of employment, also holds true for the intermediate world of the youth employment training program. Many have already agreed that it is necessary to spend money on extra remedial and psychological attention for minority youth if they are to be able to overcome the handicaps with which they enter the educational arena. Many have also agreed that it may be necessary to select a given percentage of minority applicants for college, graduate school or job openings even if some of these applicants lack the qualifications of other (non-minority) applicants. We may, in the same way, now have to conclude that it is necessary to see that blacks are placed in training programs which offer the best probability of successful placement. Lotteries for selection of applicants are clearly not the way to accomplish this.

H. *Other "Positive" Program Outcomes*

1. Back-to-school

Returning to school, either to complete high school or to start or continue post-secondary education, was not considered a non-positive termination, but it did not count in fulfillment of the contractual obligation to place 60 percent of participants in unsubsidized jobs.

Despite this fact, staff at different agencies told us that they refused to "play the numbers game", that is, they were prepared to concentrate on counseling and remedial education if it would result in a return to school. In that way, they said, these young people would have a chance for a much better job in the future, rather than a "dead end" job now.

The average "other positive" termination rate was 20 percent and most of these were "back to school" terminations with only a small proportion of transfers to other programs.[30] The data suggest that high "other positive" termination rates stemmed from one of two causes:

- a conscious effort to pressure and motivate participants to return to school,
- an attempt to avoid a high non-positive termination rate.

Agencies, in other words, with low placement rates, were likely to record - "other positive" terminations at the rate of one in three (31 percent). In contrast, in agencies with high placement rates only 13 percent of the clients were recorded as "other positive" terminations.

Table V-O, below, indicates that whether or not an agency is able to place its participants in jobs has implications for whom it sends back to school (or transfers to another program). In agencies which have low job placement rates and, correspondingly, high "other positive" termination rates, those sent back to school are more likely to be:

- women rather than men,
- dropouts rather than high school graduates,
- non-blacks rather than blacks,
- younger rather than older,
- better rather than poor readers.

Note that in agencies with medium or high placement rates, it is blacks rather than non-blacks who were sent back to school or transferred to another program, precisely because the latter are more likely to have been placed in jobs.

TABLE V-O

"Other Positive" Terminations by Agency Placement Rates*

	Overall Agency Placement Rate					
	Low		Medium		High	
All Participants	31	(232)	15	(203)	13	(214)
Sex: Male	28	(100)	19	(114)	8	(66)
Female	34	(131)	9	(89)	14	(139)
Ethnicity: Black	30	(196)	16	(153)	13	(129)
Not Black	39	(33)	10	(48)	10	(79)
Age: 16-17	28	(64)	24	(29)	24	(42)
18-19	38	(99)	12	(100)	16	(97)
20-21	23	(69)	15	(74)	1	(75)
Schooling: 9-10 years	34	(114)	11	(94)	12	(76)
11 years	30	(92)	12	(56)	16	(61)
12 or more years	17	(29)	24	(53)	10	(77)
CAT Reading Score: Low	29	(166)	12	(146)	10	(126)
High	36	(66)	21	(57)	17	(88)

---

*We divided agencies into three groups on the basis of their placement rates. The "low placement" agencies had placed only up to about one in three participants; the middle group had placed between one-third and one-half of their clients, and the "high placement" agencies had placed more than half of their clients.

The meaning of these patterns is that agencies tend to place the easiest-to-place first; if the agency has a high placement rate, most older, non-black high school graduates will be placed; the hard-to-place are left to go back to school. Among agencies with low placement rates a high "other positive" termination rate may be the result of a conscious emphasis with the program on remedial education rather than placement. In fact, programs with remedial but no skills training classes reported that 43 percent of their clients were terminated as students. This is a "success" in terms of the programs' goals. Note, also, that regardless of the agency placement rate, about one out of every four 16 to 17 year olds was sent back to finish high school. This is significant, given the fact that the overall placement rate for high school graduates was almost 50 percent, compared with a rate of 33 percent for dropouts.

2. Changes in Test Scores

One would expect, were young people in school, that during the course of the school year there would be a rise in reading and math scores of one grade level. These Citywork participants were not in school, most were receiving only minimal remedial education, and few were retested after a nine to ten month period as would occur in school. Any upward changes, therefore, in reading and/or math scores should be noted, particularly as we have found that higher scores correlate with placements.

For the group as a whole there was a slight upward movement of reading and math scores. Participants were reading at an average 7.3 grade level when they entered the program and this had improved to 8.0 some months later; math scores rose only slightly, from 6.6 to 6.9. As Table V-P indicates, in programs which dedicated themselves almost entirely to counseling and remedial education, 24 percent of the participants moved into a higher reading category, and 40 percent into a higher math level. This contrasts with improvements in reading and math or just 14 and 15 percent, respectively for programs which did not emphasize remedial education. Again, therefore, while an emphasis on remedial education was not conducive to placement, it did result not only in higher back-to-school rates but also in slight improvement in the educational skills of one-quarter to two-fifths of their clients.

TABLE V-P

Increases in Math and Reading Scores by Program Emphasis

	Reading	Math	(N)
Program Emphasis:			
Remediation	24%	40%	(121)
Skills Training	15%	14%	(218)

3. Changes in Educational and Occupational Plans

At the end of the program participants were questioned (again) about their educational and occupational plans. Unfortunately, this "retest" was administered only to a small sample of young people, as programs were drawing to a close and project staff found it exceedingly difficult to locate participants and convince them to return to the agency for an interview. However, even the small number of questionnaires obtained indicate that during the course of Citywork participants' expectations were raised and occupational plans were clarified. For example, among the 100 retests analyzed, we found that one-third of the clients had raised their educational expectations to include at least four years of college, and another 40 percent who had originally expressed college plans still expected to complete college. The majority of these, in fact, hoped to go on to graduate or professional school. Ten percent of those re-interviewed maintained the low educational expectations held when they first entered Project Citywork and 20 percent had slightly lowered their sights.

Some of the youth had clarified their occupational objectives. Several who had originally answered "don't know" or "not sure" had specific occupational plans by the end of the program. Others who were somewhat vague at the beginning of the program, were somewhat less so at the conclusion. For example, a participant who had earlier indicated that she wanted to be a secretary, by the end of the program had narrowed her plans to becoming a court stenographer. Another, whose original occupational goal was expressed merely as "office worker", responded that she planned to become an executive secretary. A third who had said she wanted "clerical work" had decided to try to become a translator at the United Nations.

A number of young people raised their occupational sights in the course of the program. Several youth changed their plans from carpentry or maintenance or office work to computers or electronics; others moved from non-professional to professional goals. In more instances than not, educational plans were fairly congruent with occupational expectations. Further, it appears that by the end of the program, income expectations had also become a little more congruent with occupational plans.

Because of the small number of participants who were requestioned about their educational and occupational expectations, it is difficult to make a definitive statement about whether the program had an effect on bringing educational and occupational aspirations into line with one another. It appears, however, from the limited data on hand, that these young people had become somewhat more knowledgeable about the amount of schooling required for, as well as the size of the paycheck stemming from, the occupation they hoped to enter. Perhaps too, they had become somewhat more realistic. Fewer than at the beginning of the program opted for what sometimes has been called "glamour" occupations, such as actresses, models, or pilots.

We shall now turn to the clients' own view of Project Citywork.

I. *Clients' Evaluation of Program*

Participants had enrolled in Project Citywork with varying expectations and it is hardly realistic to expect that a program could have addressed itself successfully to such a wide variety of needs, hopes, and expectations. Still, the youth who were re-interviewed toward the end of the program were overwhelmingly positive in their assessment. More than three our of four felt that, by the end of the program, they knew what kind of work they wanted to do and that they could find a job on their own.

Most wanted jobs in the clerical area - this was true for three our of five women and one in four men. The women, incidentally, were more certain of what kinds of jobs they wanted, but the men were more confident that they could find the jobs they wanted on their own. Compared with high school graduates, those with only nine years of schooling emerged with considerably less confidence about their ability to find a job and with more doubt about what kind of work they wanted. Similarly, young people with a low sense of "control" were less likely to emerge from the program with faith that they could find a job on their own.

Interestingly, confidence about ability to find a job, as well as certainty about what kind of a job one wants, seemed to derive more from actual on-the-job training, rather than from work experience in a non-profit setting. Most confident, both about what they wanted to do and about their ability to find a job, were those who were graduated from a program which combined skills training and work experience in the clerical area.

More than nine out of ten participants felt that they had been treated fairly during the program - and this proportion was quite consistent, regardless of sex, age, ethnicity, or other individual characteristics. In only one agency did more than one in four participants complain that they were not treated, fairly, and this agency was the one which had experienced severe staff problems, including the firing of the project director.

We asked participants whether the training they had received was in the area which they had wanted, and seven in ten said "yes". Those whose work experience or on-the-job training had been in the skilled or semi-skilled maintenance, carpentry, or boiler-repair area were most likely to have been satisfied (94 percent); fewer of those trained in clerical jobs were satisfied (66 percent); this is still a high proportion.

When those whose work experience or on-the-job training was in the clerical field were divided according to sex, we found that fewer than one-half of the men, but seven in ten women were pleased about being trained in that area. Unfortunately, too few women were trained in the "male" areas of carpentry and maintenance to determine sex differences in satisfaction with that area of training.

Our interviews with staff indicated, however, that sex stereotypes still prevail. Several women who were recruited into programs where training in carpentry or boiler-repair skills had been written into the proposal, had maintained their readiness to enter such training. After several weeks, however, they apparently were unhappy and asked to be transferred into another area. Unfortunately, this was not possible and several were terminated. In the same way, several males who had agreed to be trained in clerical skills were non-positively terminated after finding the experience not to their liking.

Overall, it is significant that seven out of ten participants - after thinking about the training or work experience they had received - agreed that it had been in the area they had wanted. Whether or not a participant was pleased with the area of his or her work experience or OJT had implications for program outcomes: among those who were satisfied, 52 percent were placed in jobs by the end of the program. In contrast, only 34 percent of those who were unhappy with the area in which work experience had taken place were in unsubsidized employment when Citywork was over.

Participants felt that they had derived more than vocational skills and clarification of occupational objectives in the course of Project Citywork. Four out of five said that their reading and/or math skills had improved and in fact, these were frequently accurate perceptions. (Reading or math scores were more likely to have risen among those who did than those who did not perceive such improvement).

Another bonus for participation in the program was the development of new friendships. Almost nine out of ten reported that they had made new friends. One cannot discount the possible importance of widening the network of peer relations among this group of youth seeking to enter the job market, for research (Santos, 1980) has indicated that many disadvantaged young people find their jobs through friends and relatives. Since friends made through the program would themselves have undergone an upgrading of skills, education, expectations, knowledge about the job market, and contacts, it is possible that the development of friendships in the course of the program might have some bearing on increasing future job opportunities for participants.

Clearly, not everyone was satisfied. Some felt the time spent in the program was too short - particularly those in the six month programs:

> I wish they made it a year. Six months is too short. They taught too fast. Many kids couldn't catch on.

Others (rightly) felt that physical quarters were inadequate

> The classes sometimes get too crowded, because there isn't enough space. It is hard to concentrate.
>
> It is too small to do what they are trying to do. There is not enough space.

And still others had some criticisms about the program itself or other participants:

> They are supposed to prepare us for the GED, but they don't have the proper instructors. You can learn a little, not enough. Should have more classes where they could learn bookkeeping, or steno, you know, shorthand.
>
> I don't like the attitudes of some of the younger people in the program (she is 20 years old).

Perhaps the strongest indicator of the positive evaluation of the program by participants is the fact that nine out of ten said they would recommend such a program to their friends. Their reasons are revealing:

> This program gave me the push I needed to get a good job and make decent money. I have a lot of friends who need a push too.
>
> There are lots of kids out there on the streetcorner that could use a program like this. It sure helped me a lot.
>
> I just hope this program will continue because there are many young ones like me out there whom it could keep from doing wrong. It is a good project that really helps.

The unsolicited responses of participants with whom we spoke in the course of the program perhaps reveal more poignantly than questionnaire items just what participation in Project Citywork meant to these young people:

> It's given me a clear mind about what I want to do in the future. On the work experience, I'm getting experience that I need to qualify for jobs in the future.
>
> I enjoy being in the program. I'm learning a lot. I need more school, a high school diploma. I want to go to night school.

Many praised the staff:

> My counselors really care and they try to help you out and see what's best for you. Not because it's a job - cause they really like you.
>
> They didn't take you on and just put you on a job. They really try to put you on a job you'll be happy with. They show you how it is; what responsibilities each job involves and how one gets there.
>
> When I first came I thought it was gonna be nothing, but they really helped me. Some programs are phony, but this one isn't. The counselors even gave us their home phone numbers.

Two participants perhaps summed it up:

> I never believed it could work and it did. You should have seen us when we came into this program, not able to fill in an application or look for a job. It's unreal how they managed to turn teenagers into young well-dressed ladies.
>
> I was a very insecure person and now I'm secure. It helped me to feel better about myself. It did me good. I am a mother now and have a full time career. I heard about CETA programs before, but not about career-for-youth programs. I thought we were going to be guinea pigs. But it worked fine.

In sum, programs like Project Citywork must be judged on the basis of more than "placements". The program was never conceived as merely an employment bureau for young people; it was established and funded as an experimental demonstration program. Contractual obligations to place 60 percent of participants in unsubsidized jobs by the end of the program ran counter to the original concept of Project Citywork. As a result, we have looked beyond "placement rates" to note some of the other positive consequences of participation in the program. And we have indeed found such consequences - both in the data collected and in the overwhelmingly positive comments of participants.

VI. THE AUXILIARY AGENCIES, BOT, VFI, AND DOE: AN EVALUATION

A. *Introduction*

The structure of Project Citywork included a number of components to assist the agencies in the comprehensive task of increasing the employability of disadvantaged youth. We will look at the role played by three of these agencies: Vocational Foundation, Inc. (VFI) which was charged with providing technical assistance to the project; Educational Foundation of the New York Board of Trade (BOT) whose role was to supplement the projects in developing private sector OJT and unsubsidized job slots; and finally, the Youth Division of New York City's Department of Employment (DOE)- the prime sponsor, whose task was to manage and monitor the participating agencies.[31]

How does one "evaluate" the performance of these three agencies? Can we actually state that program outcomes would have been poorer without them? Can we perform a cost/benefit analysis of their role? Clearly not. We have no control group of agency programs which did not have access to the technical assistance of VFI or the job development aid of BOT. We can only describe the input of these auxiliary agencies and then utilize the testimony of the staffs of the 16 projects as well as our own extensive observations to assess their performance. We turn first to Board of Trade, as this was the most short-lived of the three major auxiliaries.

B. *Board of Trade (BOT)*

The prime sponsor had contracted with BOT to assist in job development in the private sector. When project staff considered a client ready for either OJT or unsubsidized employment (generally after a period of time in a non-profit work experience slot), that client could be transferred to BOT for placement. This would leave project job developers freer to concentrate on developing work experience slots and/or private sector jobs in the local community. BOT would be concentrating on developing openings in the larger firms which comprised its extensive membership.

We visited the offices of BOT toward the end of the summer of 1978, about one month after the first projects had started. Located on the 34th floor of a midtown Fifth Avenue skyscraper, these offices contrasted dramatically with the neighborhood locations of the headquarters of the sixteen projects.

It was to these offices that young Citywork participants came for interviews with BOT counselors and job developers before being sent out for job interviews. According to BOT staff reports, some 75 Citywork clients were referred by twelve agencies, and about ten were actually placed.[32]

It would be difficult to conclude from this 13 percent placement rate that BOT's performance was anything but poor, particularly in light of the large budget which had been approved by the prime sponsor. Approximately $200,000 had been budgeted over and above the $229,000 for staff salaries as OJT inducement monies, according to the BOT project director.

One of the major problems faced by Citywork job developers at the sixteen agencies was that of finding entry-level jobs which its disadvantaged clients were capable of filling. Accordingly, the early-starting agencies were pleased that assistance in this difficult area would be rendered by BOT. Hopes were high and assurances from BOT staff readily forthcoming that "we can find jobs for your young people - don't worry!"

Unfortunately, high expectations soon became dashed hopes and, in a few cases, bitterness because, as one project director put it: "It's all promises, promises, but no delivery."

Our purpose, however, is not to condemn, but to explain. Why did this well-intentioned, well-staffed, well-funded component fail to produce results of any significance? BOT staff had its own explanations. One factor, they said was that they were being sent "the dregs" for placement, that is, those participants whom the agencies felt they could never place. We checked this claim by comparing clients referred to BOT with those who were not, and as the data below indicate, the claim has little or no basis in fact: Citywork participants who were referred to BOT were of equal or better quality than those who were not.

TABLE VI-A

Selected Characteristics (Relevant to Placement) of Clients Who Were or Were Not Referred to BOT

Selected Characteristics: Percent Who Were:		Referred To BOT (137)	Not Referred To BOT (582)
High on CAT Reading		36%	31%
High on CAT Math		35%	34%
High on DAT Spatial		21%	18%
	Mechanical	18%	14%
	Clerical	21%	18%
Age:	16-17	18%	22%
	18-19	50%	46%
	20-21	32%	32%
Ethnicity:	Black	69%	74%
	Not Black	31%	26%
Schooling:	9-10 years	42%	44%
	11 years	31%	32%
	12 or more years	27%	24%

Clearly, those referred to BOT by agency staff were not "last resort" referrals. Their ability and aptitude were equal to or better than that of non-referrals. Interestingly, despite their complaints about the poor quality and lack of job readiness of the Citywork transfers, BOT staff themselves rated these young people fairly highly. Seven out of ten were ranked favorably on appearance, communication skills, motivation, and compliance with the request that they bring along their resumes. More than nine in ten, according to BOT staff, appeared for their appointments on time. Only in the matter of possession of the necessary work skills were relatively fewer (46 percent) of the Citywork transfer-ins deemed adequate.

How can we explain the low placement rate - given the vast contacts with large-scale firms which BOT could call upon? We think there are a number of factors.

1. First, we think that BOT had unrealistic expectations concerning the clientele it had been funded to serve. Its staff, with only minor exceptions, had had only limited experience in dealing with this population, although VFI and several parent agencies had apprised them of the nature of the handicaps of these young people. Because of this inexperience, it was not until the end of 1978 that BOT began to concentrate on searching for less demanding entry-level jobs for Citywork clients.

2. Second, perhaps because of poor judgement on the part of the prime sponsor, the BOT component was funded to start on May 1, 1978 - fully three months before the first of the sixteen agencies began recruiting staff and participants. Its first year ended April 30, 1979 - precisely at the time when its services might have become needed and effective.[33] For it was then that the earlier and middle starting programs were actively seeking private sector slots for participants. Until then, they had been involved in remedial education, counseling, skills training and work experience.

For reasons which were not revealed to us, although the BOT contract was renewed by the prime sponsor, this component of Project Citywork was terminated on July 31, 1979, by the BOT directors. Thus, in a sense, BOT never had a fair opportunity to have its activities as a component of Project Citywork evaluated.

3. Third, according to the testimony of staff in the sixteen agencies, BOT personnel were aloof. They rarely visited the agencies and they maintained a cool, distant attitude which was resented by project staff and participants alike. This was not, to be fair, a unanimous feeling. Some staff were quite pleased with the role played by BOT, although they noted that placements were restricted to youth from their agency who were not in the Citywork program:

> They are quick to respond. I like the people down there. (They have made) some successful placement already with kids not in the program.
>
> Very good. I like working with them. They placed some kids from other programs.

The complaint project staff most frequently voiced was about the nature of the jobs BOT developed for Citywork participants:

> We sent one person - high education, articulate, handsome. He was rejected because he does not have a B.A. It was an office job - that is not a job for underprivileged people.
>
> We refer, but so far nobody was placed. They expect people with college degrees, fully skilled. Some of the jobs are too demanding in terms of qualifications even for our staff. One who had more education was not placed and they used his wrong attitude as an excuse.
>
> Up to this point they are not going the right way. They should familiarize themselves with the kinds of participants we have - their age, ethnicity, experience, etc...They should try to develop jobs that are training-related...They should advocate and negotiate on behalf of the participants and develop jobs that we can use... They are not doing it now...

Some project staff criticized BOT personnel for poor handling of Citywork participants (e.g. raising false hopes, too many interviewers):

> BOT develops unrealistic expectations in the kids, too. The kids when they went over there were told that they will get any jobs they desire. They would say, "You want a job in a bank, fine, we will get you one," even before they knew who they were talking to and what kind of scores and skills the kids had. It frustrates the kids, and then we in the agency are stuck with their frustrations.
>
> BOT promises jobs and does not develop them. I am really disappointed with them. I was over there in the middle of November to let them know what kinds of participants we have. They said: "Fine, criminal records are fine, low scores are fine. We will find jobs for everybody." Then time for placements came. I developed a restaurant job across the street, $4/hr for a cooking-interested kid. BOT told me to hold it till January when they will have this terrific job for him. So I did. I placed my second choice on that job I developed. In the beginning of January, I called BOT to ask why the kid was not asked to come to any interviews. They said the place they had in mind is not hiring anymore. I am really disappointed in them.

A number of project directors merely expressed annoyance and noted they would just as soon not deal with BOT in the future:

> I do not want to send more people over because of their ways of dealing with our participants. I said I would not do it, DOE rules or no DOE rules.
>
> I do not feel I have a written obligation to send 20% there. It will depend. I do not have an intention of sending them kids unless it serves the kids' interests. DOE should pressure them to live up to their contract. It is up to DOE to put pressure, to put their foot down to make BOT understand who they are servicing.

Clearly there was little or no enthusiasm among Citywork project sponsors about BOT's role. Still, the concept of a component - with a supposedly wide range of contacts with large private sector firms is a good one, we think. However, it is probable that the "culture shock" was just too great for both parties involved. More serious attempts on the part of BOT personnel to relinquish the telephone and instead, to travel to the agencies to consult with project staff; more preparation of participants by project staff for the environment in which BOT guidance and referrals took place; more realistic appraisal by BOT of the clientele they had contracted to serve[34] - all of these might have helped to raise the (poor) performance level of this component of Project Citywork.[35]

C. *Vocational Foundation, Inc. (VFI)*

Its long and largely successful history of working with disadvantaged youths, and its more recent history of involvement in City (CETA-funded) youth employment programs made VFI a natural choice as the agency selected to provide technical assistance to the Citywork projects. Staff consisted of a project director, about three field assistants at any given time - each responsible for a group of agencies - and several clerical aides who logged and forwarded to Columbia the massive numbers of forms collected from agencies. VFI's activities include the following:

1. The design, preparation, distribution and maintenance of a program operations manual. The manual was a comprehensive document explaining in detail all of the procedures which project staff would have to follow in the course of their programs. Our early interviews at the agencies revealed that, without exception, this manual

was seen as not only useful but an absolute necessity. More than one project director said: "It's my Bible - I couldn't get along without it." And it was unusual to visit an agency without seeing the manual occupying a prominent position on a staff person's desk.

Periodically, as CETA regulations or minimum wages or prime sponsor directives changed, VFI would update the manual and send "filler pages" to all agencies.

2. The establishment of minimal criteria for orientation. This involved VFI staff visits to agencies in order to explain and assist in the orientation procedures:

- intake,
- form completion,
- testing,
- briefing of clients in:
  - rules,
  - regulations,
  - procedures,
  - travel,
  - check-cashing,
  - and so on.

3. Assistance with testing, which involved:

- selecting, purchasing and distributing of tests;
- training project staff in the administration of the tests to participants and controls;
- assisting in their administration, when necessary;
- scoring and interpreting the tests for project sponsors;
- preparing a participant profile (on the basis of test scores) for projects use in counseling;
- finally, retesting both participants and controls.

All but a handful of the 800 participants were tested at the beginning of their respective programs. These tests included:

- the California Achievement Tests (Level IV) in reading and math;
- the Career Assessment Inventory;
- the Work Values Inventory;
- about one month later, the Differential Aptitude Tests in spatial relations, mechanical reasoning, and clerical skills.

Profiles were prepared for all who were tested, with recommendations regarding the need for remedial aid, or the desirability of encouraging a participant to go on for the GED or to college.

We asked project staff about the usefulness of these profiles, as well as about VFI's role in the testing process. All were grateful for the assistance rendered in the testing situation. Some, however, felt the scoring took too long to be useful and, as a result, VFI took on the additional burden of scoring the tests themselves, rather than sending them out. Our assessment of the VFI written profiles and recommendations - and some project staff confirmed this - was that they were too routine and ritualized to be useful guides in the counseling process. In many instances, however, counselors went on to say that VFI staff spent considerable time at their agencies explaining how to interpret test results. Personalized assistance, in other words, supplemented the more routine provision of profiles.

4. VFI field workers visited the agencies assigned to them on an average of once every week or two and, according to project staff, maintained telephone contact almost daily. In addition, they visited a number of the work experience and/or OJT worksites to render assistance to participants, supervisors, or project staff when needed or requested. They noted, for each worksite, the kind of work and the quality of supervision and provided this information to the evaluation component.

In the course of their field visits and/or telephone conversations VFI provided various forms of technical assistance in the areas of:

- counseling,
- job development,
- educational resources,
- worksite problems,
- program planning,
- training in administration of the Adkins Life Skills Program,
- advice regarding record keeping,
- staff relations,
- agency relations with BOT and DOE.

5. VFI held two all-day workshops for project sponsors which provided an opportunity for the exchange of ideas among the various project staffs as well as for project staff to hear from the "experts" about such matters as:

- job development,
- basic education skills training,
- counseling,
- CETA certification procedures.

These workshops were developed in response to the explicit desires and perceived needs of the participating agencies; they had not been part of VFI's original mandate. Many project staff members had expressed a feeling of isolation and a desire to meet with other staff to share and discuss common experiences and problems. Evaluation of both workshops by participants revealed an overwhelmingly positive response as well as requests for more, if possible.

6. One of VFI's primary mandates was to serve as the prime sponsor's evaluator of Project Citywork. This task, of course, subcontracted to Columbia University's Graduate School of Business, but VFI took the responsibility for seeing to it that intake and termination forms, supplementary questionnaires, tests and retests were completed and forwarded to the evaluator. Its success in this was to some extent dependent upon the readiness and willingness of the project

sponsors to cooperate. It appears, however, that initial test results and official and supplementary intake forms were received for almost every Citywork participant.[36]

The rate for termination forms was, of course, lower because agencies frequently failed to complete this official paper for clients who had disappeared or dropped out for various personal reasons. Nor were agencies able - or in many cases willing - to bring participants back for retesting and reinterviews. Accordingly, the rate for these forms was fairly low.[37]

If there is any single area where VFI found itself unable to perform as proposed, it was in the matter of the control group. Approximately 100 controls were tested and completed the intake forms. This number represents a little more than one-half of what we had originally hoped for. Unfortunately, several project sponsors who had participated in the lottery failed, despite instructions from VFI, to provide the controls.

If retesting and reinterviewing participants was difficult, retesting and reinterviewing controls was almost impossible. Agencies failed to cooperate; they were busy on their next cycle or round. VFI's staff was too small to permit the case-by-case location of the original controls, although an intensive telephone effort was made, which yielded only minimal results. Further, about fifteen of the controls at one agency were later admitted to that project's program and therefore no longer qualified as controls.

The above description of VFI's responsibilities fails to cover the range of miscellaneous tasks performed by this auxiliary agency - tasks which far exceed its original mandate.

One such task was assisting in referrals and job development after the BOT component withdrew from Citywork. A second role which VFI found itself playing was that of liaison between the agencies and the prime sponsor. Often agencies found it difficult to comply with bureaucratic requirements at DOE; VFI's previous experience with CETA programs and long association with DOE often enabled them to answer a question directly or obtain the answer more quickly than a project could. Thirdly, VFI often served as a conduit of information between agencies, informing them, for example, of techniques which other agencies had found successful, or reassuring them that problems they were encountering were common to other programs. In other words, VFI found itself providing more than instrumental (technical) assistance. It also played a nurturing, affective role, a role which many of the projects appreciated in the course of dealing with the problems, frustrations, and constraints of a CETA/YETP.

It is impossible, despite the vast range and number of tasks provided under the rubric of technical assistance, to measure the impact of VFI on program outcomes. Would the agencies have done as well without this component? We do not think so, although we have no yardstick (i.e., agencies which did not have the input of VFI) against which to assess VFI's precise impact.

In our judgement, based on extensive contact with and observation of VFI staff, as well as on the testimony of the project sponsors, the role played by VFI was indispensable:

- Project staff were often inexperienced; most had little or no knowledge about testing. Nor could they have taken on the additional burden of testing, scoring, and interpreting results of the tests.

- Further, job development is a relatively new field and VFI's expertise in this area was often helpful, according to project staff.

- Third, VFI was more experienced with the DOE bureaucracy - which was often not true of project staff.

- And finally, through its long history of working with disadvantaged youth, VFI was generally able to direct project staff to the city or private agencies which might provide needed supportive services for a client or group of clients.

In concluding this section, let us look at what project director and staff had to say about the role of VFI. First, on a scale from "good" to "poor" all fourteen agencies which responded rated the quality of VFI's services as "good."

Nor were they speaking hypothetically, for the overwhelming majority said they had utilized these services. Specifically;

- all had used the manual, testing assistance, and workshops;

- twelve had taken advantage of VFI's access to educational resources and the same number found VFI useful as a liaison with BOT;

- nine and ten respectively had used VFI's expertise in counseling and job development;

- seven found VFI helpful in program modification and planning;

- all sixteen rated the responsiveness and the availability of VFI as "good;"
- all voiced the desire to maintain a working relationship with VFI in the future.

One counselor summed up VFI's role:

> Their test profiles are very good. We used them. It showed us how their (clients') abilities and interests conflicted. Sort of showed us how difficult the situation is because clients get locked into situations. VFI helps in every way. They are very supportive. If I need anything I call in the morning and have it in the afternoon - any questions. They will either answer or call DOE. They will do the running for you.

If these programs are to be more than mere way-stations or employment agencies for disadvantaged youth, someone must provide the kind of technical assistance and support which VFI provided for Citywork project sponsors. Our best judgement is that the prime sponsor cannot take on this responsibility for reasons which will be discussed in the next section as we examine the role played by DOE (the prime sponsor) in Citywork.

D. *The Prime Sponsor (DOE)*

The concept of Project Citywork was born in the Youth Division of DOE. Under the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977, CETA prime sponsors had been empowered to set up youth training programs which included evaluation components to test the effectiveness of different approaches toward increasing the employability of disadvantaged youth. An Assistant Commissioner conceived of the idea of a complex of separate programs with varying work experience and OJT components, but combined under one rubric. As he put it:

> This is new. That is, the first time we've have been able to set up programs which differ in some respects but which have a great deal of 'commonality.' All will have testing, orientation, counseling, vocational guidance, work experience, and for some, OJT. Numbers and time schedules may differ, but there is substantial commonality.

Unfortunately, the enthusiasm under which the program was conceived soon was dampened by the bureaucratic procedures at DOE. As a result, a number of problems arose which not only affected the implementation of Project Citywork but also impinged upon relations between the prime sponsor and the various components of the program.

Our primary task is not the "politics" of evaluation research, however, but to document the role of the prime sponsor in enhancing or constraining project outcomes. As with our assessment of the role of VFI (in the previous section), we cannot measure the impact of DOE on the program outcomes. We can only, from our observations and from the testimony of the project personnel, describe the role which the prime sponsor played in the course of Project Citywork.

There were many problems reported to us. These problems can be divided into three categories:

- those involving timing,
- those involving allocation of responsibility,
- those involving bureaucratic constraints.

We shall examine each of these areas in turn.

1. Timing

Operational staff on DOE's Youth Division consisted (when Citywork was still in the stage of preparing the forms required for submission to the Board of Estimate) of five people. Four of these were responsible for the (then 19) community projects and one for the VFI and evaluation components. 38

Officially, they are known as "contract managers." Their first immediate task was to transform the DOE-approved proposals into the standard format required for submission to the Board of Estimate for final approval. After that, their tasks were:

- to monitor the progress of the projects,
- oversee their day-to-day operations,
- answer questions,
- handle problems,
- watch expenditures,
- review reports, and so on.

According to contract managers, the task of translating program plans, activities, procedures, and costs into the categories demanded by a Project Operating Plan (POP) is far from simple. Indeed this must be the case, because close to one year passed between the time that the 19 projects received initial DOE approval and the last one was submitted to the Board of Estimate for final approval. In the case of one project, arguments and appeals over proposed staff appointments occupied almost one-half year; this project was not submitted for Board of Estimate approval until early in 1979 - close to one year after its preliminary approval by the prime sponsor.

Similarly, only at the very end of September - fully three months after the first group of projects had gotten underway - were the VFI and Columbia contracts submitted to the Board of Estimate. During these three months both VFI and Columbia were forced to operate in full swing without a contract in order to ensure that technical assistance and evaluation would be provided.

Waiting for formal approval would have undermined the very purpose and progress of this demonstration program.

The delay in the submission and approval of the VFI/Columbia contracts had implications both for the program itself and for the evaluation as well. Because the VFI contract was passed three months after the projects had already gotten underway, its mandate to organize the Adkins Life Skills Program for one-half of the programs was severely compromised. Further problems arose in that - even after the VFI contract had been approved - a subcontract providing for the purchase of the hardware required for the Adkins program became a problem. It was finally negotiated and approved, but only in the Spring of 1979. By the time VFI was able to purchase and deliver this equipment, half of the projects which were to have used it were winding up their programs.

For the evaluation component, the delay in obtaining final approval of the agency and VFI contracts meant more than expenditure of monies for salaries and supplies without guarantee of reimbursement. DOE would not permit us to read the proposals of the participating agencies until after these had been submitted to and passed by the Board of Estimate. As a result, it was not until well on into the program that we were apprised of the fact that our task was essentially that of evaluating sixteen very separate and very different, rather than a complex of fairly uniform, programs. This meant reappraising our original research design and focusing on on-site observation and analysis at the sixteen agencies in addition to the collection, processing, and analysis of quantitative data.[39]

Problems of "timing" also constrained project sponsors' efforts. Before the final submission and approval of their contracts, only at great risk, could they interview and recruit staff. In the meantime, they were asked to submit for DOE approval resumes of prospective staff and to have these staff members attend the training session in techniques of counseling and job development. As one project director said:

> They wanted us to hire staff before the proposal was even funded. We can't afford to do that. And then they told us to send three people to the (training) sessions when they knew that we hadn't even been approved yet. One of the reasons, by the way, that it's taking so long to get approval is that it takes them so long to answer our questions about how to fill out the POPs.

Once a proposal had been approved, however, the prime sponsor exercised considerable pressure to assure the immediate onset of the program. Project sponsors complained about DOE's lack of recognition of the time needed to recruit and orient staff before recruiting and orientation of clients could be undertaken. This was one of many factors, according to project sponsors, accounting for what they termed an adversarial relationship between the projects and the prime sponsor.

Long delays in receiving answers to procedural and substantive questions was a common complaint of project sponsors. As a result, many of them turned to VFI which would either answer the questions directly or would attempt to obtain the answer from the proper department or official in the prime sponsor agency.

VFI itself encountered delays and difficulties in obtaining information from DOE. The preparation of the manual, for example, required that VFI receive detailed information about planned procedures and requirements. Contract managers were exceedingly slow, and at times apparently reluctant, to answer their questions. As a result, the publication of the manual was delayed past the starting date of the first projects.

While project directors were grateful for its appearance, they noted that it would have been considerably more helpful had it been distributed earlier.*

The fact that occasionally staff and client paychecks were delayed for days, weeks, and in one or two instances, over a month also had an impact on program functioning and on relationships between the projects and the prime sponsor. As one project director said:

> Not getting the paychecks in time undermines the whole purpose of the program. From the kids point of view, we are not living up to our commitment to them. It doesn't make for a good counseling atmosphere - the kids blame us.

And another noted:

> This is the third time they didn't give us enough to pay staff and participants. The red tape is really bad.

2. Allocation of Responsibility

Many problems stemmed from the difficulties involved in allocating responsibility within the prime sponsor agency, as well as between the prime sponsor and the technical assistance component. Project directors repeatedly complained that "the left hand did not know what the right hand was doing:"

- Instructions from contract managers would conflict with those of personnel in the Budget Department, with the result that incorrectly completed monthly financial reports (CAMFRS) were followed by a delay in paychecks.
- A matter regarding a contract would be referred to the Legal Department where frequently it sat on a counsel's desk for weeks, with no one in the Youth Division assuming responsibility for its deposition.

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*This problem did not exist, of course, for projects which started up later.

- For months, both VFI and the evaluation component attempted to establish just who - within the prime sponsor organization - was responsible for overseeing their activities, reading their progress reports, providing feedback.

- These problems were exacerbated by the high turnover rate within DOE. In the course of Project Citywork one DOE Commissioner (who had taken a personal interest in the project) left and was replaced. Four of the original five contract managers left or were transferred to other sections of DOE. A new Assistant Commissioner assumed responsibility for Citywork but she too left after several months. The project sponsors, as well as VFI and the evaluators, experienced considerable frustration in trying to obtain answers to questions, contract renewals, budget modifications.

Perhaps more serious was the fact that the prime sponsor was unable to accept or even define the role of the technical assistance component (VFI). From the start, the operational staff of DOE (in contrast to the section in which the concept of Project Citywork was conceived) had been opposed to the invitation to VFI to provide technical assistance and evaluation for Project Citywork. One of the reasons was concern on the part of the monitoring staff that by giving out a technical assistance/evaluation contract, the prime sponsor would be surrendering its own authority and limiting the scope of work of its in-house staff.[40]

The boundary line, in other words, between contract management (a DOE responsibility) and technical assistance became a constant source of dispute and even hostility during the course of Citywork. In fact, perhaps because of the bureaucratic problems inherent in the prime sponsor organization, which made it difficult, as we noted, for the project sponsors to obtain answers from DOE, they frequently turned to VFI for assistance. As a result, VFI assumed a kind of "godfather" role, while the role of DOE often took on an adversarial character. This was not strange, considering the fact that DOE controlled the pursestrings and sometimes failed to distribute allowances.

Lines of responsibility between the Board of Trade and the projects were also unclear, in fact, most of the projects did not even know of the existence of the Board of Trade component until fall, 1978. At BOT's request, several meetings were held with project sponsors to explain BOT's role and the fact that 20 percent of a project's placements were to be implemented through transferrals to BOT. Several meetings, several memos, and many, many phone calls were required in order to establish clearly in the minds of project sponsors that a positive placement of one of their participants through the Board of Trade would be credited to their agency. Unfortunately, not too long after the role of Board of Trade was clarified, this component withdrew from Citywork.

3. Bureaucratic Problems

According to classical theory, bureaucratic rules and regulations, rigid and constraining though they may appear to be, are functional in attaining organizational goals. Neoclassical theory, however, has demonstrated that this is only partially true and several examples drawn from Project Citywork demonstrate this point.

One example of bureaucratic rigidity hampering attainment of goals concerns budget modifications. Agencies' proposals were required to specify the number of work experience and/or OJT slots planned for each of the areas of clerical and office skills, carpentry, maintenance work, and so on. Only 10 percent of these slots (and this only after considerable bargaining) could be changed. As a result, those project sponsors whose proposals had not included clerical skills training and/or work experience were particularly handicapped in their placement efforts for it turned out that it was in this field that openings were least difficult to find.[41]

This rigidity had implications for placement rates. Many project sponsors quickly recognized that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to place the participants they had enrolled in the slots they had originally proposed to develop. Abilities, interests, occupational aspirations of participants, on the one hand, and the job market on the other, were frequently not congruent with the proposed areas of training and job development. Clearly, it would be advisable to permit greater flexibility in developing work experience or OJT slots so that these can mesh more closely with participants' interests and aptitudes, as well as with the realities of the (changing) youth job market.

A second instance of bureaucratic rigidity contradicting project goals was the 60 percent placement principle. At the insistence of the Board of Estimate, project sponsors were contractually obligated to place 60 percent of their participants in unsubsidized jobs by the end of their cycles. DOE contract managers, in defending this stipulation, maintained that it was necessary in order to establish a target goal for the projects and to ensure high performance standards.

An outcry arose from project sponsors who rightfully argued that the 60 percent placement obligation was a distinct contradiction to the "lottery requirement." All but a few programs, funded to recruit and train special target groups, had been directed to conduct a lottery among all CETA-eligible applications and to eliminate no one on the basis of educational or other limitations. DOE contract managers generally were on the scene to supervise the conducting of the lottery.[42] Some agencies managed to screen applicants before conducting the lottery in order to eliminate those who they felt could not possibly be prepared even for entry-level slots. Other agencies, however, were forced to enroll youngsters with reading abilities as low as third or fourth grade level. The prime sponsor had advised project sponsors that severely educationally handicapped youngsters would be serviced through a special DOE-provided remedial component, but this component never materialized. As a result, many agencies had to enroll participants whose handicaps made it impossible for them to benefit from the program and many slots, accordingly, were "wasted" on clients whose limitations could have been better dealt with in programs which specifically addressed their needs.

The 60-percent contractual obligation had an additional impact on program outcomes. In these programs, which were concerned with the "numbers game," according to our interviews with agency staff, there was a rush at the end of the project to avoid negative terminations and raise placement rates by placing youngsters in "any" job which could be found, regardless of a participant's skills, aptitudes, ability, or interest. In a word, although Citywork had been conceived and funded as an experimental demonstration program, the 60 percent "bottom line" requirement was in distinct contradiction to the overall program goal of starting disadvantaged youngsters out on long-term occupational careers which would mesh with their interests and aptitudes.

Bureaucratic procedures within DOE often made it difficult to deal with problems which were raised by external factors, as well. For example, changes occurred in the minimum wage levels, and extensive prime sponsor activity was required to ascertain whether the additional cost (of participant stipends) could be absorbed in existing budgets or required budget modifications. Similarly, a new CETA regulation was implemented in October 1978 establishing a maximum annual limit of 1000 hours for any participant's "work experience." A memo from the Assistant Commissioner's office went to all project sponsors informing them that by March 31 they must terminate all participants who had been enrolled in the program as of October 1, 1978.[43] To complicate matters, however, a second memo from a contract manager two weeks later, advised that the March 19 directive had been found to be inappropriate for YETP by the Legal Department of DOE. The result: confusion, concern, and anger among the project sponsors who could not obtain a definitive response from the prime sponsor as to how to proceed.

It is important to note before we conclude this report, that despite the snarls and pitfalls emanating from DOE, we think that prime sponsor staff cared about the success of Project Citywork and that program planners and administrators alike were committed to the goal of helping disadvantaged youth. Unfortunately, however, organizational goals in bureaucratic systems are often subverted, or lost sight of, in the process of ensuring adherence to institutional rules and regulations and procedures.

APPENDIX A

Tables A1 - A7

Table A1

PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES BY AGENCY (PERCENT)

AGENCY	(N)[1]	MALE	20 OR OLDER	BLACK	HISPANIC	LIVING WITH OWN FAMILY	OWN CHILD	ON ASSISTANCE	70% BELOW BLS LEVEL	EVER CONVICTED OR INCARCERATED
All Participants	(807)	43	33	74	32	63	26	54	65	8
Boys Harbor	(53)	55	38	81	29	79	15	54	60	12
Chinatown	(54)	4	63	2	4	93	2	8	37	0
Convent Ave.	(48)	54	48	83	17	7	30	40	46	13
Corona	(65)	57	35	91	19	57	36	65	77	11
East Harlem	(70)	36	42	64	56	52	40	61	87	6
Educ'l Alliance	(52)	10	75	75	21	55	26	73	73	20
Edwin Gould	(50)	54	10	80	23	4	13	50	4	7
Magnolia Tree	(38)	47	40	95	11	86	26	45	85	5
PAL	(54)	56	24	83	21	74	26	66	85	2
Phoenix House	(27)	52	22	92	12	22	16	65	78	26
Qualicap	(50)	48	18	75	90	94	17	50	74	0
South Bronx	(37)	22	17	73	37	64	65	48	31	6
Staten Island	(48)	58	33	81	22	80	21	74	83	2
Theatre Forgotten	(57)	59	42	90	28	86	31	70	91	5
South Jamaica	(50)	26	34	96	56	85	38	45	3	5
WIDE	(54)	50	41	57	63	84	8	55	82	12

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[1] Numbers in parenthesis represent the figures upon which the percentages are based. They vary slightly from item to item.

Table A1 (continued)

AGENCY	FINISHED HIGH SCHOOL	READING 8TH GRADE LEVEL OR BETTER	MATH ABILITY 7TH GRADE OR BETTER	DAT PERCENTILE			EXPECT TO FINISH COLLEGE	COLLEGE REQUIRED FOR JOB EXPECTATION	EVER IN A YOUTH PROGRAM	EVER HELD FULL-TIME JOB
				MECHANICAL REASONING 30 OR HIGHER	SPATIAL RELATIONS 40 OR HIGHER	CLERICAL SKILLS 50 OR HIGHER				
All Participants	24	32	35	15	19	23	47	43	21	43
Boys Harbor	40	53	49	19	23	9	68	51	22	51
Chinatown	65	24	83	26	32	48	48	24	0	30
Convent Ave.	6	31	23	4	6	56	49	54	16	43
Corona	12	32	37	0	2	8	44	32	17	42
East Harlem	13	17	23	10	19	17	35	24	22	35
Educ'l Alliance	8	10	6	10	12	23	43	42	36	39
Edwin Gould	12	26	18	18	22	14	40	53	36	39
Magnolia Tree	37	40	34	24	13	8	47	50	16	54
PAL	41	37	37	9	7	20	42	53	17	40
Phoenix House	11	26	33	7	22	7	46	53	8	24
Qualicap	12	52	46	16	30	26	49	44	21	56
South Bronx	17	50	46	20	37	35	46	55	18	37
Staten Island	27	29	27	4	13	13	47	31	35	36
Theatre Forgotten	32	28	25	12	16	0	55	53	33	65
South Jamaica	36	38	44	26	22	10	51	24	26	42
WIDE	33	39	37	32	39	59	48	40	15	50

Table A1 (continued)

AGENCY	WOULD WORK EVEN IF HAD ENOUGH MONEY	LUCK MORE THAN HARD WORK IMPORTANT TO GET AHEAD	HAPPIER IF ACCEPT CONDITION OF LIFE	GOOD BALANCES THE BAD IN LONG RUN	HARD WORK LEADS TO SUCCESS WITHOUT COLLEGE	WORK EXPERIENCE IN AGENCY ITSELF	WORK EXPERIENCE OR OJT IN CLERICAL FIELD
All participants	81	81	29	57	57	43	45
Boys Harbor	84	78	16	53	49	96	42
Chinatown	85	71	35	23	56	87	96
Convent Ave.	83	89	39	64	57	47	27
Corona	80	82	21	56	55	66	38
East Harlem	83	74	26	50	56	9	62
Educ'l Alliance	85	81	33	64	36	98	53
Edwin Gould	87	82	22	49	71	26	0
Magnolia Tree	75	82	42	53	49	30	35
PAL	74	65	43	52	68	10	39
Phoenix House	60	81	16	56	64	100	56
Qualicap	75	81	31	65	48	0	68
South Bronx	78	80	22	57	61	0	41
Staten Island	84	78	40	71	62	50	22
Theatre Forgotten	87	89	37	50	65	68	30
South Jamaica	86	75	24	68	48	12	79
WIDE	83	100	15	69	68	14	32

Table A2

OFFICIAL OUTCOMES BY AGENCY (PERCENT)

AGENCY	(N)[1]	TYPE OF TERMINATION				Employment in Private Sector	Employment Training-Related[2]	Mean Salary
		Direct or Indirect Placements	Self-Placements	Other Positive Terminations	Non-Positive Terminations			
All Participants	(624)	32	7	20	41	70	83	$132
Boys Harbor	(45)	51	7	11	31	32	88	$134
Chinatown	(47)	64	23	2	11	84	100	$142
Convent Ave.	(40)	3	0	35	63	*	*	*
Corona	(56)	25	21	41	13	54	46	$137
East Harlem	(35)	29	0	11	60	75	*	*
Educ'l Alliance	(43)	0	12	44	44	*	*	*
Edwin Gould	(47)	19	11	23	47	*	75	*
Magnolia Tree	(33)	21	12	6	61	63	79	$124
PAL	(42)	33	5	21	41	71	86	$128
Phoenix House	(27)	33	7	11	48	*	*	*
Qualicap	(40)	55	0	8	38	64	100	$140
South Bronx	(47)	43	0	36	21	40	95	$132
Staten Island	(19)	0	0	32	68	*	*	*
Theatre Forgotten	(52)	38	4	15	42	81	77	$128
South Jamaica	(37)	60	0	3	38	65	92	$136
WIDE	(57)	28	7	17	48	50	75	$129

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[1] Numbers in parentheses are those upon which percentages are based. They include only participants for whom a termination form was received.

[2] Figures are based on the number actually placed.

*Number placed was fewer than ten; therefore figures have not been presented.

Table A3

PERCENT OF CLIENTS RECEIVING $150 A WEEK OR MORE

	Not Black	Black	All Clients
All clients	25 (75)	16 (141)	20 (216)
Type of Employment			
Clerical	32 (54)	22 (70)	26 (124)
Skilled or semi-skilled	16 (12)	11 (37)	12 (48)
Area of Employment			
Private sector	33 (40)	12 (67)	19 (107)
Public sector	18 (22)	18 (43)	18 (66)
Age			
16-17	20 (10)	15 (13)	17 (23)
18-19	27 (26)	14 (74)	17 (100)
20-21	26 (39)	19 (54)	22 (93)
Years of schooling			
10 or less	21 (28)	14 (39)	17 (77)
11	14 (14)	15 (40)	15 (54)
12	33 (33)	17 (52)	27 (75)
CAT reading score			
Low	25 (52)	13 (76)	18 (128)
High	26 (23)	18 (65)	20 (88)
Type of placement			
Agency	20 (55)	17 (111)	19 (161)
Self	56 (14)	14 (14)	37 (27)

Table A4

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS AND PLACEMENT RATES

Predictors	r	Standard Beta	F Ratio
Reading score	.04	-.01	*
Age	.17	.09	*
Sex	-.04	-.12	5.9
Ethnicity	-.19	-.14	8.7
Standard of living	.11	.11	5.1
Previous full-time work experience	.08	.07	*
High School diploma	.27	.24	22.1
N = 410		r^2 = .13	

Table A5

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS AND PROGRAM OUTCOMES (PERCENT)

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS	(N)	PLACEMENT	NEGATIVE TERMINATION	EMPLOYMENT IN PRIVATE SECTOR	EMPLOYMENT TRAINING-RELATED	EMPLOYMENT IN CLERICAL JOB	WEEKLY SALARY	
							Under $120	$150 or more
Staff-Related								
Staff/Participant Ratio								
Low	(328)	34	46	53	79	34	25	9
High	(257)	48	34	50	89	62	23	29
Staff Relations								
Poor or Medium	(312)	33	44	43	80	29	32	14
Good	(273)	49	37	52	88	66	19	26
Staff Turnover								
Low	(373)	42	41	53	88	58	22	16
High	(212)	37	41	40	78	32	27	21
Agency-Related								
Job Bank								
No	(233)	36	42	37	82	38	39	25
Yes	(352)	43	40	58	85	56	16	16
Agency Support								
Poor	(152)	32	46	37	76	44	30	28
Fair or Good	(433)	44	39	50	87	48	23	17

Table A5 (Continued)

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS	(N)	PLACEMENT	NON-POSITIVE TERMINATION	EMPLOYMENT IN PRIVATE SECTOR	EMPLOYMENT TRAINING-RELATED	EMPLOYMENT IN CLERICAL JOB	WEEKLY SALARY Under $120	WEEKLY SALARY $150 or more
Program-Related								
Program Type								
Work experience	(320)	47	36	51	85	55	19	22
OJT with or without work experience	(265)	33	43	46	83	40	31	15
Clerical Training								
Skills training and work experience	(165)	59	25	54	89	65	67	25
Either	(290)	41	43	43	86	45	21	17
Neither	(130)	15	51	50	54	9	19	5
Remedial/Skills Training								
Neither	(106)	40	42	35	87	41	16	15
Remedial only	(146)	17	50	38	67	25	32	10
Skills training only	(176)	41	38	65	72	28	33	12
Both	(157)	61	34	46	95	78	19	29
Time-Related								
Start-up								
Early	(299)	43	36	51	84	49	24	22
Middle	(141)	38	48	64	77	45	23	7
Late	(145)	37	43	29	93	51	23	30
Cycles								
One	(270)	31	46	60	74	36	28	10
[illegible]	(2[illegible]5)	48	37	42	89	57	20	26

Table A6

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS, INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS AND PLACEMENT RATES

Predictors	ALL CASES			BLACKS			NON-BLACKS		
	r	Standard Beta	F Ratio	r	Standard Beta	F Ratio	r	Standard Beta	F Ratio
Ratio	23	05	*	13	-03	*	43	44	7.1
Clerical	26	15	6.0	21	23	10.7	33	-16	*
Program Type	18	13	5.3	15	22	10.2	12	02	*
Remedial	-21	-09	2.9	-26	-12	4.0	-15	-06	*
Age	.15	.06	*	.12	.06	*	.16	.11	*
Sex	-.02	-.12	5.5	-.12	-.15	6.7	.15	-.06	*
Ethnicity	-.14	-.04	*	--	--	--	--	--	--
Standard of Living	.09	.07	*	.04	.09	*	.16	.11	*
Previous Full-time Job	.06	.00	*	.08	-.02	*	.03	.01	*
High School Graduate	.23	.11	3.7	.20	.15	5.8	.25	.05	*
High Math Score	.32	.19	13.3	.30	.20	11.4	.32	.15	*
	N = 367		r^2 = .20	N = 266		r_2 = .22	N = 101	r^2 = .23	

Table A7

Percent "Other Positive" Terminations

	Overall Agency Placement Rate		
	Low	Medium	High
All Participants	31 (232)	15 (203)	13 (214)
Sex:			
Male	28 (100)	19 (114)	8 (66)
Female	34 (131)	9 (89)	14 (139)
Ethnicity:			
Black	30 (196)	16 (153)	13 (129)
Not black	39 (33)	10 (48)	10 (79)
Age:			
16-17	28 (64)	24 (29)	24 (42)
18-19	38 (99)	12 (100)	16 (97)
20-21	23 (69)	15 (74)	1 (75)
Schooling:			
9-10 years	34 (114)	11 (94)	12 (76)
11 years	30 (92)	12 (56)	16 (61)
12 or more years	17 (29)	24 (53)	10 (77)
CAT Reading Score:			
Low	29 (166)	12 (146)	10 (126)
High	36 (66)	21 (57)	17 (88)

APPENDIX B

The Evaluation Model: Proposed and Actual

APPENDIX B

In this section, we shall detail the changes in the evaluation model necessitated by changes in timing and other problems in Project Citywork.

The Evaluation Model: Proposed and Actual

Originally, the research design proposed by the Columbia evaluators was the classical evaluation model, which would include the following steps:

1. Ascertaining the goals or objectives of the program;
2. Translating these goals into measurable indicators;
3. Collecting data on these indicators for those who were exposed to the program;
4. Collecting similar data for an equivalent group, not exposed to the program (control group);
5. Comparing the data on the two groups in terms of goal criteria.

This design rested, however, on several assumptions - assumptions which were based on the preliminary information obtained from DOE prior to the start-up of Project Citywork, namely:

1. Simultaneous start-up of all nineteen programs;
2. Relatively similar program format and the time frame for all nineteen agencies;
3. Recruitment (by all but a few agencies) of a pool of applicants from which would be drawn by lottery the participants and the controls;
4. The use of the Adkins Life Skills Training Program by one-half of the agencies, as well as continuous input from the ancillary agencies such as Psychological Corporation, VFI, New York Board of Trade, and DOE's Office of Staff Development.

The conditions seemed to be ideal for the classical "before-after - experimental-control" research design. During the first week of the program, demographic and attitudinal data would be gathered from both participants and controls, and both groups would be tested.

At the end of the program the two groups would be retested and reinterviewed and then compared in terms of job placement and other indicators of employability. If the placement rate (and/or other positive outcomes and employability indicators) were found to be significantly higher for participants than for controls, then the program could, with a fair degree of confidence, be called a success.

A program on the drawing board, however, is rarely identical to a program in actual operation. In the "real world," many unforeseen factors are likely to arise which will warrant changes and modifications of original plans. Accordingly, in a real-life action environment, research strategies must be sufficiently flexible to accord with the changing realities of the program.

Indeed, it soon became apparent that Project Citywork in operation belied the assumptions underlying the classical experimental model. Many changes took place between the drawing-board and the actual implementation.

1. Simultaneous start-up

All nineteen programs were to begin in June 1978; in fact an orientation meeting of the project directors with VFI and the Columbia evaluation staffs had been scheduled for the first week in June. As it turned out, by the beginning of October 1978, only nine of the original nineteen programs had actually gotten underway. Entry, in other words, was staggered; three programs started in July, three in August, and three more in September. Another five agencies held their orientation and assessment in October, one entered the group in December, and three more did not start up until January or February of 1979 - nine months after the program had been scheduled to begin.

While the staggered entrance of the agencies into the program was unanticipated, once it was recognized, the research team decided to capitalize upon it and to incorporate it into the research plan. In other words, the programs could be divided rather evenly into three groups, depending upon when they received Board of Estimate approval and could start up: the "pioneers," the "middle group," and the "late-comers." It was possible, we speculated, that there might be both advantages and disadvantages, in terms of program outcomes, of being in one or another of these three groups:

- Perhaps the pioneers would have an advantage in that they would be receiving technical assistance and help from the interfacing agencies (DOE, VFI, Board of Trade) when the latter were fresh and enthusiastic.
- Perhaps the middle and late-comer groups, on the other hand, would avoid the effects of the early uncertainties, falterings and errors in judgement of these interfacing groups. As problems arose with the first group, these could be resolved and, if not avoided, at least handled with greater facility as the later groups got their programs underway.
- The pioneers might benefit from the fact that they had the relatively undivided attention of the auxilliary organizations. One might assume that it would be easier to monitor, provide technical assistance to and develop jobs for six rather than for eighteen programs.
- Undivided attention, on the other hand, might rebound to the disadvantage of the pioneers. For example, prime sponsor contract managers who are supervising only one or two programs each, might exercise tighter control and less flexibility than when responsibile for five or six programs each.

In any event, we decided to test these speculations regarding the impact of early vs. late entry into the program as far as would be possible in our analysis.

2. Similar program format and time frame

At the very outset, we requested that the prime sponsor provide us with copies of the nineteen proposals which had been selected for inclusion in Project Citywork. Unfortunately, and for reasons which were never disclosed to us, we were permitted (only after repeated requests) to take notes on the first six proposals which had been approved by the Board of Estimate; we not allowed to see the remaining narratives. Had this not been the case, we would have recognized early on that Project Citywork was, in fact, a series of disparate programs, rather than a uniform composite program.

Indeed, program formats, as we soon discovered, were far from uniform. Some involved work experience, some OJT, others a combination of the two. Some were to run six months, others one year. Some provided skills training or remedial education, others did not. Some had contracted to train participants for clerical positions, others for skilled or semi-skilled jobs.

In a word, we began to realize that Project Citywork was not one, but sixteen different programs.* As a result, we began to move away from the classical evaluation model toward a more eclectic approach, with a strong emphasis on qualitative analysis. Thus the evaluation staff was in regular contact with each participating agency during the entire course of each project's operation. Initial, interim, and exit interviews were held with staff, project directors, counselors, job developers, and teachers. In addition to the demographic, educational, and attitudinal data collected on participants, several young people in each program were interviewed in more detail about their experiences with and feelings about all aspects of the program.

Further, information was gathered about conditions at a sample of worksites where(work experience or OJT was in process.) Worksite supervisors were interviewed to obtain information about the successes and problems encountered in training Project Citywork participants.

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*From here on, we shall speak of sixteen rather than nineteen programs. As previously noted, one never reached the Board of Estimate and two others terminated well before any outcome data could be obtained.

In other words, we spent considerable (unanticipated) time collecting detailed qualitative information about the problems, constraints, and successes encountered at various phases of the implementation process. We became aware of communication barriers between project directors and staff, of rivalries among staff, of difficulties encountered by a program in its relations with its parent agency, with DOE, or VFI, or Board of Trade. As a result, despite the fact that programs differed vastly from one another, qualitative interviewing uncovered many commonalities which have permitted us to classify agencies along various dimensions and then to examine the relationship between client characteristics and outcomes. Thus in our analysis we could examine the effect on outcomes of such factors as:

- staff turnover or staff morale,
- program structure,
- status of the project within the agency,
- status of the agency within in the community,
- past experience, and so on.

3. The control group

As noted earlier, one of the most enticing aspects of evaluating Project Citywork was the arrangement for a built-in control group. For without such a group the evaluator may describe, analyze, explain, and interpret outcomes, but cannot say with any degree of confidence that a program had produced results different from those which might have occurred in the absence of a program.

Lotteries were held in all but four of the sixteen agencies. These four had contracted to recruit participants from special target groups, ex-addicts, ex-offenders, youthful parents and "Minnesota Strip" women. For these groups it would be difficult at best to provide a control group. Accordingly, these programs were excused by DOE from conducting a lottery. In two programs, although a lottery was held, staff declined to complete the necessary information for and permit the testing of a control group. Accordingly, in only ten of the sixteen agencies was a control group obtained, interviewed and tested.

Altogether VFI was able to obtain demographic, educational, and attitudinal data on approximately 125 controls (an average of 10-14 from each of ten agencies). This represents about one control for every five participants in these agencies. Further, when the time arrived to retest and reinterview these controls, the agencies were already deeply involved in their next cycle or in a new program and, understandably, refused to divert time to locating controls for research purposes. VFI made several strong efforts to contact these controls - by phone, mail, and in person. As a result, more than one-half were retested, and about one-fourth were reinterviewed as to their current employment status and their plans.

A final note on the problem of the control group is in order. The analysis will indicate that there were few demographic, educational, and attitudinal differences between the 500 participants and the 125 controls at the start of Project Citywork. That only one-half of the latter could be located for retesting, and fewer than one-fourth for reinterviewing (despite the $20 gratuity offered) indicates the difficulty of locating this group of unemployed disadvantaged youngsters. They tend to be mobile, elusive, suspicious, and it is unlikely that those who did not return for retesting are the very ones who managed in the interim to find employment. As Daryl Huff noted in his classical How to Lie with Statistics: "The Harvard alumnus who has not 'made it' it is unlikely to respond to his 25th reunion questionnaire."

At the very least we might note that a large group of youngsters with characteristics similar to Citywork participants attempted to enroll in the program but could not; this surely is evidence of the fact that there is a vast universe of need to be met by those who are concerned about the problem of youth unemployment.

4. The Auxiliary Agencies

It should be noted here that most of the auxiliary agencies which had been included in the original program model did not function as planned on a continuous basis. For example, one-half of the agencies were to have had made available to them the hard and software materials which comprise the Adkins Life Skills Program. This program, developed by a Teachers College professor, consists of ten modules dealing with topics which are designed to increase the employability of young people. Counselors were to be trained in conducting the Adkins program through Psychological Corporation. That one-half of the programs would use Adkins, while the other half would not, was to provide yet another opportunity to test the relative effectiveness of this program as opposed to general, less structured counseling.

Psychological Corporation conducted several training sessions for staff in the agencies for which Adkins had been scheduled, but unfortunately, the expensive audio-visual hardware necessary to administer the Adkins program did not materialize until long after the need for it had passed. The delay was largely due to the fact that DOE took several months to finalize the agreement for the delivery and purchase of the equipment. When the equipment was at last made available to the agencies, the staff had to take a refresher course in how to administer it. By this time, Pyschological Corporation was no longer serving as the training agent for the Adkins program, so the refresher course was conducted by VFI staff. Further, only a small number of Citywork participants could have benefited from the Adkins program since in most agencies the first cycles were already over and second cycles were coming to an end.

The Office of Staff Development (of DOE) which had been charged with screening and training staff (primarily in the agencies not participating in the Adkins program) actually had minimal input into Project Citywork. From almost the start, the contract managers in the Youth Division of DOE took over the staff screening function and only two training sessions were made available to the staffs of those projects which had started their programs by November 1978. After that time - with four agencies still awaiting Board of Estimate approval - Office of Staff Development's connection with Project Citywork disappeared.

The Educational Foundation of the New York Board of Trade had been charged with the responsibility of developing private sector jobs for Citywork youth, but this organization, too, did not survive long. It's one-year contract was renewed by DOE in March 1979, but internal pressures within New York Board of Trade itself led to the withdrawal of this component from Project Citywork.

The role of all of these auxiliary agencies is discussed in the analysis. In this section we have depicted the model program drawn up by DOE's Youth Division - a model which suggested that a classical research design would be most appropriate for evaluation purposes. We then described the ways in which the assumptions underlying the original evaluation plan were unmet as Project Citywork was actually implemented, thus necessitating a modification of the research design. In brief the "before-after-experimental-control" model had given way to a more eclectic approach. The emphasis shifted to describing the Citywork population and then examining the outcomes of the programs for participants with varying demographic, educational, and attitudinal characteristics within programs combined along varying dimensions of commonality.

APPENDIX C

Participants at the Worksite

APPENDIX C

Participants at the Worksite

The original research plan had not included interviews with the actual worksite supervisors of Citywork trainees. However, as the program reached the work experience and on-the-job training stage we began to hear (through VFI and/or project directors) about problems, difficulties, or successes work supervisors were encountering with trainees or with the project sponsor. Accordingly, we decided to interview a small sample of worksite supervisors as well as to obtain some information about conditions at these worksites. Altogether, we collected 40 worksite evaluations and worksite supervisor interviews from sites developed by eleven of the sixteen agencies. Clearly, this is neither a random nor a representative sample but the information gathered serves to illustrate some of the "hidden" costs and benefits of the training program.

Range of Worksites

The sites evaluated cover a wide range. All but a few, however, were non-profit work experience sites, rather than on-the-job training sites. This reflects the fact that most of the programs did not have an on-the-job training component. In addition, project directors were reluctant to grant permission to interview at worksites in the private sector, as they felt employers would regard it as an unnecessary intrusion on their time.

The non-profit sites at which interviews were conducted included hospitals, day-care centers, nursing homes, libraries, parks, colleges, community agencies and museums. Trainees were engaged in a variety of tasks, largely in the clerical area. Some, however, served as teaching or recreation aides, and others were doing skilled or semi-skilled work in printing, maintenance, or auto repair.

Evaluation of Worksites

VFI technical staff were asked to rate the cleanliness, lighting, and noise levels at the worksites they visited. With only one exception, these conditions were judged to be good, or at worst, fair. The single exception was a printing shop, where the very nature of the work precluded a spotless and quiet work environment. VFI staff observers, with only minor exceptions, rated the supervision received by trainees favorably. Almost all were judged to be highly helpful, friendly, and understanding although a few received ratings of "fair" when it came to the amount of supervision a trainee was receiving. Only in two or three instances was a supervisor rated by the observers as rigid, inflexible, or unable to get along with or handle trainees.

Employers were asked by VFI staff to rate their trainee(s) on several dimensions:

- involvement,
- interest,
- appearance,
- attendance,
- ability.

Apparently, the counselors had been able to instill in participants the importance of a neat appearance on the job, for almost all trainees received ratings of "good" on this item, with only a few rated as "fair", and none as "poor." Motivation, also, was fairly high according to supervisors; more than three out of four received high ratings for interest and involvement, several were rated as "fair" and only one as "poor."

Only about one-half of the trainees, however, received high ratings for attendance or ability, and several were, in fact, rated as "poor" on these items. Some supervisors noted that trainees were still in the learning process and would probably be able to master the limited skills required on the job, but that as yet they had not done so. Others complained that trainees were unreliable as far as attendance was concerned, showing up late or not at all, without explanation.

In the more detailed interviews held with supervisors, this "dependability" theme was enlarged upon. Trainees would just disappear and never return, or would quit without notice. Lateness and absenteeism were common. One supervisor, noting that she would not participate in such a program again, said:

> "We are a small agency. When we accept trainees we expect them to be reasonably dependable. This did not occur in the case of the worker assigned here."

Another, complaining about trainees' constant lateness and absenteeism, said:

> "I really dread having to go through this again - it's their unreliability. Due to excessive absenteeism, their productivity was low. I just had to spend too much time on them."

Most supervisors, however, were substantially less negative than the two quoted above. They acknowledged various symptoms of participants' unreliability but said that generally such problems as lateness or absences had been mitigated by talking openly with trainees and making expectations for their behavior explicit. In fact, they went on to say that they would have little hesitation about participating again in a program like Citywork.

A few supervisors felt the training period was not long enough for the young people to develop the necessary skills and several complained about the inordinate amount of paperwork involved in completing the forms, reports, and payroll vouchers required by CETA and the prime sponsor. All but two or three, however, went on to say that they would do it again and some were quite enthusiastic and idealistic.

> "I feel I had a hand in giving our youth a chance to develop into mature, responsible adults. I would like to continue our involvement."

> "Youth needs an opportunity to gain experience and insight into the many professions available to them."

> "The participants were able to gain an abundance of training and we benefited because a lot of work got done."

Over and above the training they received and the skills they developed participants benefitted in other ways, as well. For example, some trainees were asked to work extra hours at the expense of the training organization. Supervisors prepared references and job recommendation for almost one-half of their trainees. One in three was actually offered full-time (unsubsidized) employment at the end of the training period.

A little over one-half of the organizations in which Citywork youth had their work experience had previously participated in similar youth training programs. That the experience with Citywork youth was generally a positive one is indicated by the fact that almost half of the supervisors said that they had recommended that other agencies participate in such youth employment training programs.

In sum, there were several worksites at which the program was clearly not successful from the point of view of the supervisor. But far more numerous were those where supervisors acknowledged the problems and shortcomings of their young trainees, but felt that on the whole it had been worthwhile and that, in fact, they would not object to participating in such a program again.

NOTES

1. (Page 26)

The Career Assessment Inventory (CAI) is an interest inventory designed for individuals seeking courses that do not require a four-year college degree. The CAI provides respondents with scores on three types of scales: general occupational theme scales, basic interest scales, and occupational scales.

2. (Page 26)

The Work Values Inventory was designed to measure the values which are *extrinsic* to as well as those which are *intrinsic* in work, satisfactions which people seek in work and the satisfactions which may be concomitants or outcomes of work.

A work values inventory was administered to participants during the orientation period; from the point of view of staff, it is important to be aware of the values toward work in a program like Citywork.

The figures cited in the text, however, stem from responses to questions abour work values appearing on a supplementary intake form designed by the evaluators. The results of this test confirm the WVI results.

Our experience suggests that several short questions on this subject may serve equally well as the more time-consuming and expensive Work Values Inventory battery. In addition, counselors told us that many participants had great difficulty completing the Work Values Inventory. Although the test itself took only 20 minutes, more than twice that time was generally occupied explaining the test or some specific items. Even the simple question on our form, asking participants to rank from 1 to 5 the importance to them of 5 different aspects of work, often proved to be beyond the capacity of these educationally handicapped youngsters.

3. (Page 28)

The information on ethnicity was drawn from the DOE Intake Form, generally completed for the participant by a counselor. Some counselors seemed to have difficulty completing this item for Hispanic clients. Rather than classifying the participant as black or white, and then moving to the new question to note whether the client was of Hispanic background, some counselors uniformly classified Hispanic clients as neither black nor white but "other". Accordingly, we do not know exactly how many of the Hispanics were white and how many black.

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On the basis of those forms which were correctly completed we estimate that the combined ethnic/Hispanic population can be broken down as follows:

Black (nonHispanic)	60%
Black Hispanic	14%
White Hispanic	18%
Oriental	7%
White (nonHispanic)	2%
Total Clients	(802)

4. (Page 28)

Also difficult to ascertain (although an item on the official DOE Intake Form asks for this information) was the family status of Citywork clients. These data were provided for a bare majority, and even for this group it is unclear as to what "family head" signified. For example, most of the 27 clients living in a drug treatment residence were classified as family heads together with almost half of the single parents in another program. Recognizing the ambiguity of the data, halfway into the program we collected more detailed information from Citywork clients. The data in Table III-B are based on this special research.

Data on clients' own or on their family's income was almost impossible to obtain. A count reveals that these items are missing for well over one-half of the participants. In some agencies the counselors skipped these items on the official DOE Intake Form altogether; in others, they were completed for some but never for all, clients. We tried to find out why this vital information had not been recorded, but had little success. We suspect that most participants could not estimate their own or family incomes, and that agencies did not press for proof of income. Further, the majority of clients were receiving assistance or were living in foster homes. In such cases it is generally difficult to extract data on income because respondents fear disclosure of such information and consequent loss of benefits or payments.

Among those from whom data on income were obtained, the average annual income reported was under $500; the average family income, just over $3,000, clearly indicating the disadvantaged character of the Citywork population.

5. (Page 30)

Eighth grade Reading and Seventh grade Mathematics are considered "high" for the Citywork population.

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6. (Page 31)

The Differential Aptitude Test is a vocational guidance instrument designed to measure abilities in specified areas. This test was standardized on students between grades 8 to 12.

Scores of the Citywork population, which includes 75% dropouts with low reading and math scores, tend to be in a generally lower range than for the population on which DAT was standardized.

VFI's experience in using DAT has been the same: its client pop-population, which has a high dropout rate, tends to score in a lower-than-expected percentile in reasoning, spatial relations and clerical skills. However, VFI has found the relative position of higher and lower scores fairly reliable as an indicator of aptitude. Performance tends to be better than DAT scores would indicate, suggesting that lack of test-taking skills places school dropouts in a lower percentile than their abilities would.

Please see also note 16 for the evaluation team's comments on the way DAT was used in Project Citywork.

7. (Page 32)

The educational requirement for each client's occupational expectation was derived from The Occupational Finder for Use with The Self Directed Search: A Guide to Educational and Vocational Planning by John L. Holland, Ph.D., Palo Alto: Consulting Psychologists Press, (1977).

8. (Page 72)

In Section VI we will discuss the role played by the Educational Foundation of the New York Board of Trade and some of the problems associated with that role. Suffice it for now to say that this specification could not possibly be met as Board of Trade withdrew from Project Citywork early in relation to the actual (delayed) start-up dates of the agencies it was supposed to assist.

9. (Page 73)

Little exists (at the time of the preparation of this report) in the way of comparable data which either support or fail to confirm our findings. Data which are available either summarize the results of summer YETPs or those of all programs subsumed under the Youth Employment Demonstration and Projects Act of 1977. In neither instance are the samples comparable to the Citywork population. For example, data for FY 1978-9 on YEDPA enrollments and terminations indicate that in 1979

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approximately 20 percent of those terminated from such programs were direct or indirect placements, another 25 percent were non-positive terminations, and the remaining 55 percent were recorded as "other positive" terminations (return to or continuation in school, transfer to other programs, etc.). These figures, however, are not comparable with ours because they include young people who were enrolled in summer, as well as year-round, YETPs and thus the return-to-school rate is highly inflated (See Youth Programs, A Publication of the Center for Employment and Income Studies, Brandeis University, 1980, p. 27).

10. (Page 75)

We are somewhat skeptical about the Staten Island results which have been calculated on the basis of only nineteen official termination forms. We were told that files in which the project records were kept had been vandalized and that these were the only official outcome data found.

11. (Page 75)

According to the project director, PAL enrolled 101 participants, 60% of which were placed. Lack of complete data on all participants prevented us from including these figures in the Appendix Table 1-A.

12. (Page 77)

When the programs began the minimum wage was $2.65 an hour; it rose to $2.90 an hour at about the time Citywork reached the midpoint and some agencies were beginning to place participants in unsubsidized jobs. In 1980, toward the end of the last programs, the minimum wage rose once again to $3.10 an hour.

13. (Page 80)

Direct vs. Indirect Placement: As noted earlier, fewer than 3 percent of the placements of Citywork participants were categorized as "direct" placements. This meant that a young person enrolled in the program but was placed on a job by the agency before actually receiving programmatic supportive services. In other words, these clients did not receive counseling, skills training, work experience or remedial education.

Many agencies are devoted wholly or primarily to developing jobs and placing young people. Project Citywork was designed as a demonstration program to assess the effectiveness of proving such supporting services as counseling, skills training, and work experience. Accordingly, while the number of those who were placed without receiving

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these services is too small to draw statistically significant conclusions, comparing them with the indirect placements provides some insight into the "benefits" of such services in terms of job type and quality.

Six of the sixteen agencies reported no direct placements, nine reported one or two, and one agency (PAL) noted that seven participants (or 44 percent of all placements) were direct. Whether the placement was direct or indirect had little or nothing to do with the background characteristics of participants, although those who were placed directly were slightly more likely to be the older, high school graduates who had already had vocational or technical training after high school.

Little relationship was found between the type of agency placement (direct or indirect) and the occupational field in which the participant was placed. Direct placements were somewhat more likely to be in such miscellaneous occupations as food service, carpet laying, jewelry making, or furniture finishing, and a little less likely to be in the fields in which skills training took place such as clerical or carpentry jobs.

Where a young person was put to work, however, was related to whether the placement was direct or indirect. As the table below indicates, almost one in five direct placements were at the parent agency itself and more than one-third were in non-profit organizations. In contrast, indirect placements were much less likely to be in non-profit agencies and fewer than one in ten was at the parent agency.

	Direct (18)	Indirect (197)
Placement Site		
Parent Agency	18%	8%
Other Non-profit	17%	21%
Small Business	24%	24%
Large Business	12%	26%
Other or not ascertainable	29%	21%
Percent earning under $120/week	50%	39%

A further difference between direct and indirect placements was that the former were considerably less likely to be in large business firms. Only 12%, compared to 26% of the indirect placements were in such firms. This difference had further implications, as wages received by participants who were placed in large business firms were higher than those paid to clients who were placed in the smaller shops. Thus, 50 percent of those directly placed, but 39 percent of those placed after participation in the program, were being paid below $120 a week.

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While we caution against drawing definitive conclusions from these findings because of the small number of direct agency placements, it would appear that counseling, skills training, and work experience did pay off in the form of somewhat better jobs than those obtained by young people who were directly placed by the agency.

14. (Page 81)

This guarantee was disregarded by DOE in making renewals.

15. (Page 87)

For a well-documented recent discussion, see the Fifth Annual Report of the National Commission for Employment Policy (1979).

16. (Page 87)

Theoretically, the rationale behind using the Differential Aptitude Test was to assess participants' aptitudes in three areas and then provide pre-employment training in the area in which a client's aptitude was strongest. Unfortunately in practice, training areas were prescribed in the proposals submitted by the agencies and modifications were all but impossible to obtain. The tests could not possibly have been administered until after clients were enrolled in the program, so that their scores were largely a matter of academic, rather than practical interest.

A close look, however, at the scores of various groups of enrollees does provide some *ex post facto* insight. For example, it may be that the DAT is less an indicator of aptitude in a given area than one of test taking ability, for those who scored high in one area tended also to score high in the other two. Further, low aptitude in any of the three areas showed a strong negative relation to longetivity in Project Citywork; of the participants who dropped out of the program very early - even before the work experience or on-the-job training phase - more than nine out of ten scored low in the various aptitude areas. We have no way of knowing whether fear of failure may have resulted in dropping out of the program altogether, or whether a self-fulfilling prophecy phenomenon was at work. In other words, counselors were apprised of participants' scores and may have given less encouragement to those whose results indicated little aptitude for any of the areas in which skills training was offered.

Actually, it happened that participants with high scores in spatial relations were slightly more likely to be trained as technicians, and those with high scores on clerical skills were somewhat more likely to receive their training in office and clerical skills. Clearly, however, it would be desirable to structure youth employment training programs in such a way that aptitude and ability testing preceded decisions as to the areas in which skills training and work experience or OJT were to take place.

NOTES

17. (Page 95)

We are aware that while the results of the regression are statistically significant they must be integrated with caution. Our sample is clearly not a random one; the women can hardly be termed "representative" of disadvantaged female youth, nor can non-blacks in the sample be called representative for they are largely Hispanic or Oriental rather than white. Our results, however, suggest that more research is called for to explore the factors which may account for the independent influence of sex on placement and to ascertain whether discrimination, sex-stereotyping, etc. operate when it comes to training and/or placing women.

18. (Page 97)

An anecdote may serve to illustrate the discrepancies among agencies as far as staff salaries were concerned. One project director, at the conclusion of the agency's program, was asked to join the staff of another agency as a counselor. This move represented a step downward as far as status was concerned, but a move upward from the point of view of salary. In other words, at some agencies a lower level staff person was compensated at the same or higher rate as a project director at another agency.

19. (Page 98)

The average annual salary for a counselor, with or without several years of experience, was about $12,500 and that of a project director was $15,000.

20. (Page 104)

See Table A5 in Appendix A for a summary of the impact of agency-related factors.

21. (Page 109)

Most modifications were "too little and too late." In one instance, an enterprising project director, impatient with DOE delays, scouted the neighborhood himself and was able to obtain several battered old typewriters on which participants could practice.

22. (Page 109)

For an overview of program-related factors and their impact on outcomes, see Table A5 in Appendix A.

NOTES

23. (Page 110)

Of the early, middle and late starters, it was the middle group which had the highest negative termination rate. Perhaps this was because these projects were just getting underway when rumors of drastic turnover at DOE began to circulate. In fact, two of the three contract managers resigned shortly afterwards, leaving these projects virtually unmonitored. By this time, the early starters were bringing their projects to a close, and the late starters were only tooling up.

Further, two of the three agencies in the middle group themselves experienced considerable turnover. Staff morale was low and, in fact, in both of these agencies, project directors had been relieved of their responsibilities.

There was an additional factor which might have had a negative effect on this middle group. Just as they were getting underway, word was received from prime sponsor headquarters that the deadline for refunding proposals was approaching. At a critical time, therefore, staff had to be diverted to the task of preparing a proposal - intensifying already extant morale problems. Together, these factors may help to account for the relatively high non-positive termination rates in this group of projects which started up between October and December 1978.

24. (Page 111)

Another factor accounting for the better performance of the two-cycle programs is that each cycle processed fewer clients and accordingly enjoyed a higher staff/participant ratio.

25. (Page 112)

For one agency placement rates rose in the 2nd cycle, and from our discussions with project staff we know that the project director of the agency had made a particularly determined effort to improve placement rates - in fact, several participants were given jobs at the parent agency. Interestingly, at this agency non-positive termination rates for the two cycles were similar; the difference was that more cycle-one participants had been sent back to school or transferred to other programs, while more cycle-two participants were placed.

26. (Page 113)

Table A5 summarizes the impact of time-related institutional factors on program outcomes.

NOTES

27. (Page 121)

Closely approaching the level of significance as an explanatory factor is one other programmatic item; not placing a primary emphasis on remedial education but rather combining it with skills training classes.

28. (Page 122)

Regression analysis merely tells us what factors account for "explained variance" in placement rates; in this instance 20 percent of the variance is explained by the factors included in the regression. Other factors, such as differences in skill level, personality, job market opportunities for specific skills and, of course, discrimination, are possible factors which comprise the large 80 percent unexplained variance in placement rates.

29. (Page 122)

In the same way, regressing placement rates separately for males and females reveals that different factors predict successful program outcomes for the two sexes. For males, who apparently are easier to place than females, holding everything constant the major predictor of placement is a program in which work experience, rather than OJT, is emphasized. For females, in contrast, placement is dependent upon several factors: ability, a high school diploma, plus placement in a program which provides clerical skills training and work experience. Also, closely approaching the .05 level of significance were the two factors of age and ethnicity (not being black). In other words, as with blacks, women seem to stand a good chance of ending up in unsubsidized employment just as long as they have everything else going for them - education, ability, age, the "right" kind of program. Similar findings obtain if we regress placement rates separately for older and younger participants. The young (16-17) client has a chance to be placed only under optimal conditions.

30. (Page 124)

Several programs sent almost no clients back to school, notably Boys Harbor, Chinatown, Western Queens and South Jamaica because their high placement rates, and East Harlem, Magnolia Tree and Phoenix House due to their high non-positive termination rates.

31. (Page 136)

See Appendix B for an account of the short-lived roles of Psychological Corporation which was to have trained the staff of one-half of the projects in the use of the Adkins Life Skills Program and of DOE's Office of Staff Development which was to have instructed the other half in the techniques of counseling and job development.

NOTES

32. (Page 137)

BOT helped place other (non-Citywork) youth for several of the sixteen agencies, but our concern is only with the role played by BOT in Project Citywork.

33. (Page 140)

The first-year contract for BOT was extended by three months, but few, if any, Citywork clients were processed in this period.

34. (Page 143)

VFI did send BOT a composite of the test scores of participants at each agency in order to apprise them of the nature of the population.

35. (Page 143)

Some project directors suggested that BOT might have assisted them in establishing contact with local (borough) Chamber of Commerce units.

36. (Page 147)

Some of these early forms may be missing because they were not completed for a participant by project staff. Occasionally a youth was tested and then dropped out before an official DOE intake form had been completed, or after the intake form had been filled out before testing.

37. (Page 147)

It should be noted that project staff had been apprised at the beginning of Citywork, and were regularly reapprised, of the fact that participants were to be retested. It was not VFI's responsibility to round up clients (or controls) for testing although in many instances they assisted in this process. Nor should project staffs necessarily take full blame for the low retest rate. Many were faced with finding, convening and retesting participants at the same time that they were tooling up for a second cycle or a second year program.

38. (Page 151)

Shortly after the onset of Citywork, one of these managers left and the remaining three divided the (at first 19, later 16) projects among them. Each, in other words, had approximately five contracts to manage. The contract of the Educational Foundation of the New York Board of Trade was handled by a different division of DOE. Perhaps that, as well as the fact that the project director of the BOT component was familiar with DOE procedures (having previously been employed there), accounted for the quick and uneventful formal approval of the BOT "POP".

NOTES

39. (Page 153)

Had we been able to read all of the proposal narratives earlier (while our own budget contract negotiations were underway) we would have modified our budget to permit additional staff assistance for observation at sixteen agencies.

40. (Page 156)

Certain DOE operational staff also felt that VFI's position as an evaluator would give them undue advantage in bidding for future YETP contracts with the prime sponsor.

41. (Page 158)

Not only was it difficult, if not impossible, to obtain modifications of work experience or OJT slots in the course of Project Citywork; it also appeared that lessons learned in this first round could not be capitalized upon when it came time to apply for refunding, for project sponsors were again advised that only minor modifications of their first year proposals would be permitted.

42. (Page 159)

Several project directors wryly commented that this was the only occasion on which a contract manager visited their agency.

43. (Page 160)

Project sponsors were also advised that they must so notify participants in writing one month prior to termination - clearly an impossible directive as the memo itself was dated March 19.

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